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Labor Age

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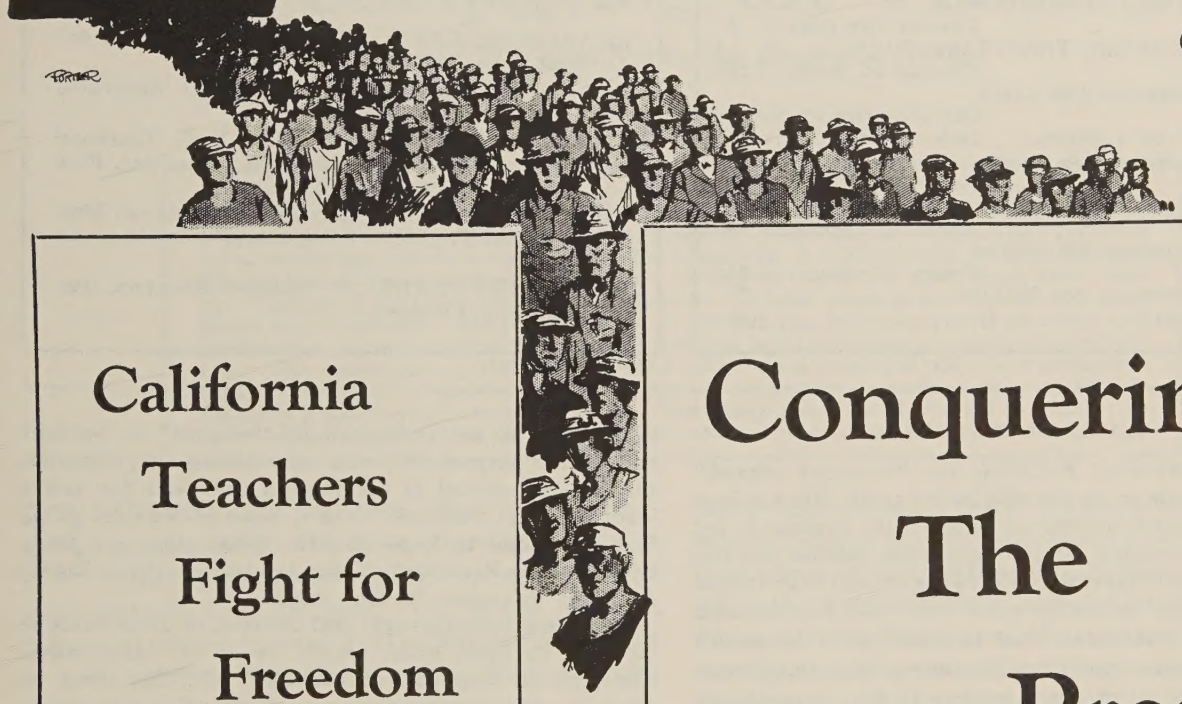

California Teachers Fight for Freedom

The "Anti-Labor" Supreme Court

Conquering The Press

Can the Workers Spike the Enemy's Guns?

Volume XI, No. 7 August, 1922

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Labor Age

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in the socialization of industry.

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RIVALLING MR. EDISON

MR. THOMAS EDISON, the "electrical wizard," is again at his favorite indoor sport. He has been testing a number of young men, anxious to get jobs with him, with a deluge of questions, sublime and ridiculous. Some of them were ridiculous enough to be typical of the "normal" capitalist mind. The one, for example, which asked a salesman what he would do if he wanted to sell to a man, about whom he knew a deep, dark secret —which would be of grave concern to the man's jealous wife.

LABOR AGE, in a very modest way, is rivalling Mr. Edison! It is not conducted by "wizards" or brought out for the purpose of producing walking encyclopedias. But it is concerned in providing a few tests for active labor men and women. **What is labor in America doing that you ought to know about? What steps are being taken to beat Reaction?** These are two questions it asks and tries to answer in each issue.

Those are matters—practical matters, of great value to labor in its fight, about which, we in the labor movement, should keep advised. LABOR AGE has taken on itself the job of doing that very thing. **Come in on the band wagon,** get your friends and your trade union interested and make Mr. Edison green with envy.

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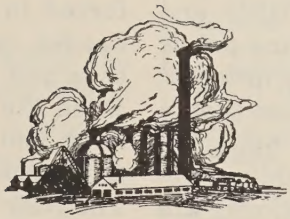


Conquering the Press

Can the Workers Spike the Enemy's Guns?

By MAX D. DANISH

AT the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor, just closed, a committee of labor editors was created to establish a national labor weekly, to be expanded later into a daily. The 1922 Congress of the British Cooperative Societies a few weeks ago also took steps toward the launching of a cooperative daily newspaper. The labor and cooperative movements are coming to learn that they **must** *have their own "makers of opinion" if they are to progress. A labor press is as important as labor banks and cooperative stores. There is no retreat for labor in regard to these new efforts; the only alternatives are, further advance into Capitalism's domain or annihilation. The experience of the needle trades shows what powerful aids to organization trade organs can be when gotten out as weekly newspapers, reaching the membership frequently and in easily readable form. How many times could this aid be reinforced by an adequate daily labor press in all large cities, serving the whole movement!*

BRUISED and bleeding from the propaganda shells of its foes, American Labor is stumblingly trying to win a press for itself that will aid it in its fight. Up to the moment it has not made a great deal of headway, except in a few places. The huge majority of the guns of "public opinion" belong to the enemy. Often, it is true, Labor has failed to get a better deal from the privately owned press because it did not understand publicity methods. But, on the whole, in a showdown, the capitalist papers realize their class interests and poison the "public mind" against the labor cause.

The more Labor reaches out to become more self-sufficient, and enters the province of its foes, the more necessary does it become for Labor to bring up the big howitzers of the press for offensive as well as defensive purposes. Without such aid, its cooperative stores and its labor banks will be victims of the rankest sort of discrimination on the part of governmental authorities; met by the silence or open approval of the general daily press.

Happily, the need of a labor press is becoming more and more acutely felt, and has come to the front recently in a number of important labor gatherings. Such hitherto conservative organizations as the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen have adopted resolutions looking toward the establishment of a chain of influential labor dailies throughout the country. It is not merely trade organs that they want, to meet the needs of this or that particular industry, but newspapers that can rival the big metropolitan dailies, written and edited from the labor viewpoint.

In Europe, even in countries where the labor movement is poorly developed, there has always existed a strong socialist or labor press. In Germany there were dozens of Socialist and labor dailies even before its labor movement amounted to much. The same is true, in a degree, of France, Austria, Italy and the Scandinavian countries. England was perhaps the only exception in this respect — in the British Isles there existed a powerful labor movement long before the British workers thought of launching labor dailies.

There are today in the United States about 150 labor weeklies, about 100 monthlies and less than a dozen daily papers in the English language. There are also about 100 labor,

socialist and radical publications printed in foreign languages, which, as a rule, are materially better off than their English contemporaries. The history of the foreign-language labor and radical press, its background, its reading public and working methods, are so distinctly different from the English language labor press that a comparison between them would be quite impractical. Of these weeklies and monthlies published in the English language, the majority are the official organs of various trade unions and central bodies, headed by the **American Federationist,** monthly organ of the A. F. of L. The Federation also conducts a printed weekly news service — **The International Labor News Service** — for the labor press as a whole. Every new movement or split in the labor ranks produces a new organ, though they seldom gain much strength. The Workers' Party, as an example, has set up weeklies in New York and Chicago—**The Worker** and **Voice of Labor.** The combined reading public of the labor press in the country is estimated roughly between three million and four million, but it is a rather scattered and incohesive mass of public opinion.

Such, approximately, is the situation of the labor press in the United States. And in view of these facts the recent moves by labor organizations, to take up in earnest the question of founding an influential labor daily press in America, bring forth the pertinent question: Is there a field for such a daily press? If launched, can such dailies be successful in a highly competitive field? It is understood that with proper equipment, technical and financial, the difficulties that have heretofore harassed the labor press could be obviated. The question, however, arises plainly, should the enginemen and firemen and garment workers and others decide upon investing a large sum of money in a chain of dailies — could they count upon the local membership in Chicago, Denver, Boston, New York, to support such a press? Will the fact that these dailies are owned and represent the savings and funds of these organizations arouse the members from their lethargy and make them read a labor or a socialist daily in preference to the newspapers that they have read for generations?

Of the existing socialist and labor dailies in the English language there are only three that can claim a substantial following and a degree of success. These are the **Seattle Union Record,** the **Minnesota Daily Star** and the **Milwaukee Leader.** The **Butte Bulletin** (Montana), only a couple of years ago a promising newspaper, was forced to give up publication. The **Oklahoma Leader,** supported with the aid of the Cooperatives and of the organized farmers of that state, when the socialist movement was at its height there and claimed over 80,000 votes, is fighting a desperate, if not a losing, battle for existence. The **New York Call,** the oldest labor and socialist English daily in the United States, has been battling for its life for fourteen years, and is maintained largely by an indefatigable group of loyal workers.

The thorns in the way of a labor publication are seen in this communication from the **Seattle Union Record:**

> The **Union Record's** average circulation daily is 139,-157. Our present financial situation is precarious because of reduced advertising income, due to a boycott by the Retail Trade Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce. The circulation is somewhat reduced also as a result of a fight in the ranks of organized labor — started by the Communist element and now kept up by pure-and-simple trade unionists. The **Union Record,** being between the two forces, gets the full effect of attacks from each side. The Central Labor Council still owns a majority of voting stock in the paper, and is about equally divided between radicals and conservatives, with the latter in a slight majority. Both sides express devotion to maintenance of a daily labor newspaper, but neither side appears willing to advance necessary funds until assurances have been made that it will receive preference. There is a slight betterment in this respect at present. Our problem is to secure sufficient finances to pay off our plant and building and provide working capital.

What is, then, the principal reason for the failure of the labor press, particularly the daily press, to draw support from the working masses? Some are wont to explain it on technical grounds. They say that labor publications are not an attractive and marketable product. If there is any substance in this at all, it is true to a very minor degree. A comparison, for instance, of the **Oklahoma Leader** with the average Middle Western daily would show that they differ little, if any, in news and features both in quality and quantity. A journal like the **New York Call** or the **Milwaukee Leader** is certainly far superior technically to such powerful and successful publications as the **Berlin Vorwarts,** the **Leipzig Volkszeitung,** or, for that matter, the **London Daily Herald.** Of course, it can hardly be expected that a labor daily could successfully duplicate at first such a monumen-

tal newspaper as the **New York Times.** But it is, nevertheless, quite obvious that the principal fault lies not with the technique of newspaper making, but somewhere else.

The reason for the hard struggle which the existing labor publications have to maintain is due, first and above all, to a lack of a sincere interest on the part of the workers to read news, or have news interpreted to them from the point of view and through the mirror of the labor movement. In Milwaukee, as well as in New York and in Chicago, in San Francisco as in Boston and Atlanta, the masses of workers belonging or not belonging to the trade unions, **have plainly and simply never cared a tinker's damn whether their paper, which they have been reading for generations, has been lying to them about labor — about their own organization, their strikes — or not.**

Of course, there are other reasons for the failures of labor dailies to thrive in a competitive market. There is, for example, their poor drawing value as advertising media. There is also a considerable amount of animosity, organized and unorganized, on the part of national advertisers in particular, that withholds advertising patronage from socialist and labor publications. These obstacles can easily be overcome by **circulation,** and that is what labor **is,** if it but realizes it; and the advertisers brought to their knees. A further handicap is the comparative expensiveness of running a labor publication, due to the fact that it is, as a rule, a 100 per cent union enterprise. **Noblesse oblige** — and this rule works a considerable hardship upon labor publications, particularly in their early stages. From the office boy and from the last scrap of paper to the mailing end of the business, everything must be scrupulously union. And in a competitive field this is a drawback that is made up only in part by the zeal and personal devotion of the members of both the editorial and working staffs of these publications.

Consider how easily the workers could conquer the press if they really determined upon doing it. There are hundreds of thousands of union men in each of the large cities of the country — New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit. Yet, in only one of these cities is there an English language labor daily, with a pitiful percentage of all union men on its subscription lists. These union readers of enemy papers must be made to feel a religious obligation to patronize a labor daily; that it is as much a duty to do this as to carry a union card. **The working man or woman who is found taking a capitalist paper instead of a labor publication must be branded by the movement and his comrades with the same infamy as if he were scabbing on them.** The workers must realize that this is a fight for life that they are in, and that he who supports the enemy's guns is a traitor to his fellows. Such tactics would overpower the anti-labor press; their circulation would melt away like snow under a summer sun.

And such tactics can be put over, despite the difficulties in the way. The masses of our workers, it is true, have been brought up in a school that militates against the success of such an undertaking for some time to come. Independent thinking, matters beyond the mere struggle for hours and wages, have been shouted down and tabooed by the "tacticians" of the American labor movement. But there is a perceptible change here and there, and new ideas are silently sifting their way through. The workers in the great industrial centers, as a matter of necessity, cannot remain as stark blank to the purposes and aims of the labor movement as they are today, which is almost as they were a generation ago. Array an army of them, under the discipline here prescribed, to buy the labor paper in preference to the capitalist paper! It will mean the conquest of "public opinion."

THE PRESS AND THE NEW ORDER

IT IS ONE of the disillusionments of a purely political democracy that the "free Press"—the unfettered and abundant production of cheap newspapers to which our grandfathers looked as the means of popular freedom and enlightenment—has become one of the worst obstacles to the development of a capacity for real self-government, perhaps the worst of all the menaces to modern democracy. The institution which the older order most feared as the instrument of revolution has, in fact, become the main instrument by which any real movement towards a new social order is resisted.

If the workers are out for the destruction of all autocracies, for the self-determination and self-government of the people in their daily lives, the right to rule themselves in the things that matter most—so far as those things are human possibilities at all —then the indispensable condition of their success is a daily Press of their own.—(Norman Angell in his new book, "The Press and the Organization of Society.")

X-Raying the Labor Press

A Newspaper Man's View of How to Get a Real "Maker of Opinion"

By HEBER BLANKENHORN

IT is funny how folks, of all types and classes, have a habit of giving their weaknesses away. Our burly Secretary of War (overlooking such small considerations as widespread unemployment and the drastic wage cuts) only the other day hit upon the direct primary as the cause of American social unrest! The mind of Mr. Weeks, as a result, lays X-rayed before us. During all his years of public life he has never thought of the problems of those thousands of his workingmen constituents, faced with the question of making ends meet. He has not progressed mentally beyond the 18th century.

For Labor its press will be its most likely giveaway. By the amount and character of a union's publications can be largely measured the amount and character of the union's work. The development of a labor press is a chapter in the history of the extension of trade union activity. Real newspapers owned by labor rise from the belief that whatever is vital to workingmen is union business. When union activities are not extended beyond "hours, wages and conditions" the result is "trade union organs" only. Unions begin to talk labor press on a wider scale when they find that such limited activities do not even make certain real wages or a better life.

Wanted: Labor Technicians

When labor unions extend their activities, as with other forces, they often begin by doing the job badly. Labor history is strewn with ventures — political, business, educational, cooperative — which "fell down." Of the many causes of failure, at least one seems to be generally present — the lack of technical ability. The experienced, or competent, or expert man wasn't obtained, generally wasn't sought. The union's choice for editor was a plumber who was handy, or a first-class bricklayer. In the rare cases where an expert, a trained newspaper man, was put on the job, his training had often been all wrong for a labor paper. Between the beliefs that "anybody can run a paper" and "we got to make experts out of our own people," labor's journalism has lagged. **Like Lenin in Russia, the central labor unions in unnamed American towns have been up against the problem of finding the technical expert who thinks with Labor.**

Certain bits of journalistic history can be examined. In 1919 the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, confronted by an almost complete strangling of all labor news in the ordinary papers, undertook to establish a state labor daily. For two years almost every method to launch it was tried except one — putting a newspaperman on the job. It was a task for a technical expert and, lacking him, it died. In the same period two papers did get started in Pennsylvania.

The Story of the Panther Creek News

One was in the Panther Creek Valley, in President Thomas Kennedy's district of the anthracite region. The miners there had been used to a little Socialist sheet, **Toiler's Defense,** until it died of the war. They missed it when the wage negotiations of 1920 approached, and they "couldn't get their stuff into the papers any more." "Sheriff" Hartneady, one of their officers, wrote up a few pertinent facts—which he could see from his headquarter's windows—on how the coal companies were steam-shoveling "culm," or mine refuse, in with the good coal, and shipping it to New York, where it could clinker in consumers' grates — and the consumers, of course, would curse the miners who were too lazy to clean the coal. He sent his facts to the local company-owned paper, which found it "had no space." That set off the miners, 6,000 of them, who gave $1.00 each to start a weekly paper. That in turn set off the company, which converted its weekly into a daily. Then the miners' dander was up. Their paper should be a daily, too. That meant a big technical job. And right at the start they began by hiring two newspapermen to do the job for them, from buying presses and getting circulation to running the daily.

The **Panther Creek News,** printed in the rejuvenated office of **Toiler's Defense** at Coaldale, is going strong, every day. Months before the coal strike began it had laid the foundation for

the anthracite men's later demand for a federal investigation of coal profits, and had made that demand felt in Congress. It has its weaknesses —the principal one being the lack of a labor news service—but it knows them; it will grow just as fast as it broadens its activities and puts the jobs in the hands of trained men.

How Somerset Went Union

Out in Central Pennsylvania in President Brophy's district of the mine workers, the first month of the coal strike saw a phenomenon — the old non-union county of Somerset went steadily, mysteriously union. One of the causes was **Penn Central News,** a new weekly, which somehow or other, by day or night, by hook or crook, got by the guards and into all the non-union towns. One after another, like popcorn, those towns burst, sent for organizers and more of "those papers" and struck. What's the paternity of **Penn Central News?**

During the war, a score of workers in a little mine felt the need of "extending the activities" of their district union and started a paper, **Pick and Plow.** They financed it by assigning a mine car to **Pick and Plow,** giving it a number tag the same as each miner, and the miners in rotation loaded that car, whose "tonnage" went to the paper. One of them, T. D. Stiles, ran it until Mr. Burleson saw it and stepped on it for being a Socialist paper. The last issue of **Pick and Plow** contained the title and date, then blank pages, except for this streamer across the inside: **We lived, we died, we await the resurrection.**

Keeping at It

These same men went on accumulating experience; running a paper called **Land and Labor,** until certain big gentlemen warned all its advertisers to withdraw; cooperating with the founding of a labor page in the Altoona **Times-Tribune,** until the Pennsylvania Railroad ended that. Simultaneously the district organization was founding cooperative stores, getting out pamphlets for the miners on nationalization of mines, working out a new program for miners everywhere; and they just **had** to have a paper. The miners put Mr. Stiles on the job, and to his experience he promptly added that of a trained newspaperman, one of those who had started **Panther Creek News.** The new paper will increase in wisdom and stature just as far as the miners continue to recognize that a labor paper is a technical job.

Outstanding recent successes, such as the railwaymen's **Labor** and the **Federated Press,** were in the hands of trained newspapermen from the start; the New York **Call** would not have survived being Burlesonized but for the **newspaper-making** skill of its manager. The day the **Daily Herald** started in London the cheeriest sight to me was a great editor, Norman Angell, rushing around in his shirt-sleeves. The expert is never the whole story, but he's its plot.

A Hard Job

In hunting trained publicists, labor must start with the fact that most of them have been trained wrong, and their equipment of ideas is of no service to labor. From the small percentage of able available men labor has more than once obtained a valuable recruit—and lost him, through trying to force him to suppress news, just as the "kept press" forced him.

A real labor press means creating something that rarely exists today in the "great" newspaper world; standards of technical ability, respected by readers and yet responsive to the mass of the readers. No wonder the job goes slow. **The first text in the gospel is: a labor press is absolutely necessary, the hallmark of a real movement. The second is: achieving a labor press is harder than winning a strike.** It's a battle that lasts longer, a job that is almost as big as setting up a union.

When the Business Press Goes Wrong

It's a job which labor easily forgets. "Why, the newspapers are printing all our stuff," labor men say in peaceful times, and then wonder why it happens that the "papers go bad on them" just as some strike looms. In greater or less degree the papers of every country always "go bad" when a labor situation gets most intense, when a press is needed the most. **The business press quits hobnobbing with labor at the showdown.** Day after day I observed in Italy how the business press printed and praised the activities of the fascisti. The fascisti had two main businesses: burning down union headquarters and destroying labor newspapers' plants. I did not notice the business press filled with protests against the destruction of its rivals. And for nothing did the Italian workers fight harder than for the rebuilding and maintenance of its press. Employers and employees regarded the labor press as the center of the struggle, and both were right.

The Largest Labor Paper in the World

Adaptation to American Journalism

By B. CHARNEY VLADECK

THE Jewish Daily Forward today is the largest labor and Socialist daily in the world. Started twenty-five years ago by a group of Socialists who disapproved of the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party and the leadership of Daniel De Leon, it grew in pace with the influx of Jewish immigration into the United States, and has become the largest public influence in the life of the Jewish masses in this country. Of Jews who get their daily information from newspapers in their native tongue, one in every two reads the Forward; and the Forward Building on the Lower East Side is the very center of Jewish labor activities in New York.

Two influences may explain the phenomenal growth of the Forward. The more important undoubtedly is the personality of its editor, Abraham Cahan. He came to this country at the age of 22, a graduate of one of the best known Teachers' Seminaries in Russia. He was full of idealism and the life experience of every intelligent Russian Jew, with an unexcelled sense for reality and with a deep understanding of human nature, yet he was young enough to adapt himself to the new environment and to be imbued with the dynamic spirit of a new country. Before he could obtain his citizenship papers he knew enough English to become a teacher. Before long he was getting American newspaper experience on the **Commercial Advertiser,** in company with, and under the tutelage of, Lincoln Stephens, Norman and Hutchins Hapgood and others.

Making a Real Newspaper

Cahan was with the Forward when it originally started; but he had to quit later because of a difference of opinion between him and the Forward Association as to the general policy of the paper. He insisted that the Forward be a real newspaper, living the life of the people, full of "pep" and humor and sprightliness. He opposed its becoming a cut-and-dried affair, loaded down with "learned" and tedious contributions, which the mass of the workers would not understand or find of interest. He believed in getting the latest news, rivalling any other paper in that respect, and giving this news in the most interesting and striking form. It took the association only a short time to find that he was right. When he rejoined the Forward, several years later, he was enriched by his experience on the **Commercial Advertiser,** and began immediately to apply the fundamental principles of American journalism to the Forward.

He did not print anything in the paper that the least intelligent reader could not understand. He refused manuscripts from his most celebrated contributors if they did not deal with things realistically. He introduced features pregnant with human interest and refused to be bothered by the criticism of the supercilious and intellectual snobs. The Forward became a source of news, amusement and education; and its circulation began to grow by leaps and bounds. Mr. Cahan's editorial policy proved so successful that every other Jewish paper has done nothing since but try to imitate his methods, so that the Forward practically edits a number of papers in the Yiddish tongue which are antagonistic to its policy and purpose.

The Battle of the Sweat Shops

With the growth of its circulation the Forward steadily grew to be a great leader of the Jewish masses. Conditions in New York shops fifteen and twenty years ago were appalling—long hours, unsanitary lofts, brutal treatment on the part of employers and foremen and utter lack of self-respect and self-confidence. Under the leadership of the Forward the scattered and demoralized masses of Jewish immigrants in New York and elsewhere began to acquire spirit and to organize for the purpose of bettering their economic condition. The large needle trade unions which have of late become the subject of investigation and wonderment by sociologists and professors of economics are the children of the Forward.

The Forward led every strike. It served the purpose of a huge trumpet which warned of danger and summoned help. It was with the

working immigrant in his shop, on the picket line, at his home. It collected money for strikers, and it created for them a favorable public opinion. **It lifted the Jewish immigrant from the position of a slave and competitor to the American working man, to the position of leader and forerunner in the American Labor Movement.**

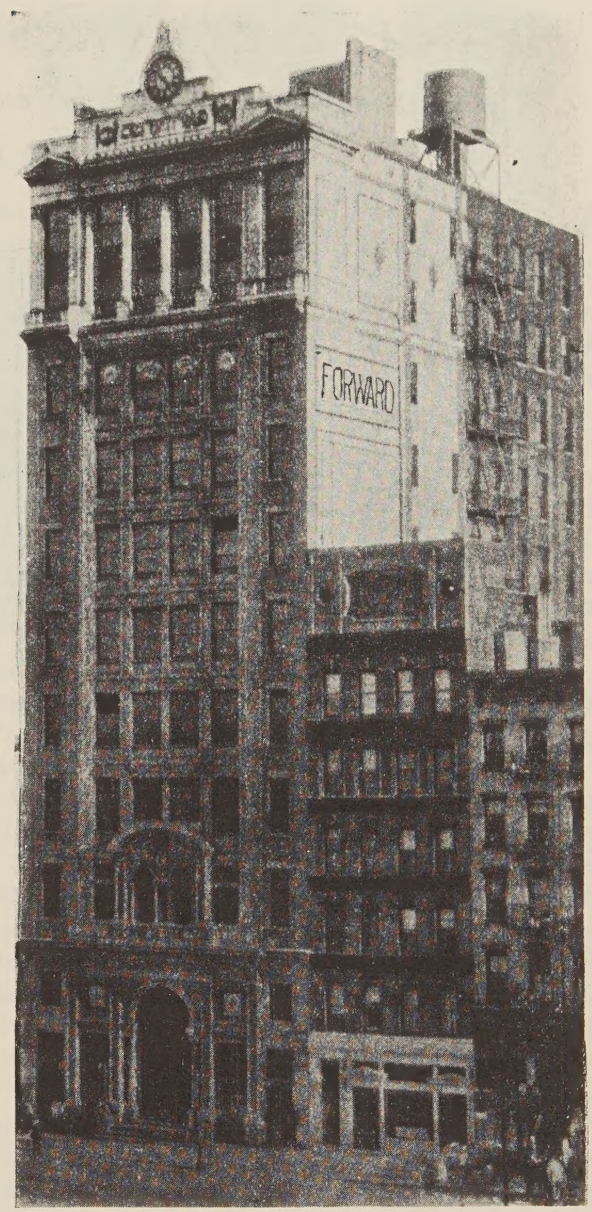
At no time did the mutual confidence of the Forward and the Jewish immigrant weaken in the least. They both grew in mutual strength, so that today the extremists in the labor movement who are endeavoring to acquire power and all that goes with it in the ranks of labor, center their attacks directly on the Forward, knowing well that by weakening the Forward they would weaken the very heart of the Jewish labor movement as today it is constituted.

"Americanization" in the Better Sense

Having been Americanized himself in the better sense of the word, he encouraged the study of the English language and of American institutions and ideals. He began to write an eight-volume history of the United States, and he published a book by the managing editor of the Forward on American Civics. He also initiated a series of lessons in the English language which has run in the Forward. These are now being sold to its reader-family in the form of a book, at cost price. The Forward Publishing Co. has published some of the finest works of the best Jewish writers, and translations from Tolstoi, Zola, Shakespeare, etc. **The Forward is also publishing a monthly magazine which has the largest monthly Yiddish circulation of any in the country.**

Sharing Success With Others

The Forward is published by the Forward Association, a membership association. No member of the Forward Association is permitted to share in the profits of the daily, and whatever is left, is distributed to help other institutions, or necessarily goes back into improving and enlarging the paper. This is why the Forward has become popular not only with the working class but with all Jews. The fact that no owner can pocket the profits automatically keeps the Forward on a higher level, technically and editorially, than any other paper. Three years ago the Forward, in order to accommodate its Western readers, established a plant in Chicago in which the Forward is published for all the territory West of Cleveland. **The combined circulation of the New York and Chicago Forward is now about 200,000 daily.** Since the Forward began to make profits, it has distributed, as a rule, from 30 per cent to 40 per cent of its profits to labor, civic and cultural institutions. The total of these contributions for the last eleven or twelve years has amounted to upwards of $300,000.



I. P. E. U. 624

THE HOME OF THE "FORWARD"
Overlooking Rutgers Square—Center of Jewish Labor Activities

Out of its 25 years of service to Labor has come, therefore, not only inspiration to the Jewish workers, leading them to victory after victory, but also substantial help to other labor causes in their fight against Capitalism. It is a record of achievement that Labor everywhere can look upon with pride.

The Northwest Reports Success

How the Minnesota Farmers and Workers Put the Daily Star Across

By THOMAS VAN LEAR

YOU need not go to the **American Magazine** or the **Saturday Evening Post** for stories of success. They sing of individual, capitalistic exploits—gained at the expense of others. They tell of Mr. Dolly Varden who won riches by selling hams (though we can't be sure from Upton Sinclair's story that said hams did not poison thousands of unsuspecting victims, the riches increasing with the numbers poisoned). Or, of Mr. U. B. Damd, who gained fame and fortune by cutting his workers' wages below a living standard. There are successes in group efforts no less striking than these—more striking perhaps because more difficult to carry through.

In my city of inland lakes we have an exhibit of group success to offer. It is a daily newspaper devoted to the interests of organized labor and the organized farmers of Minnesota—the **Minnesota Daily Star.** Only two years old—it began publication, to be exact, on August 19th, 1920—it now has a circulation of over 43,000 and an income of $35,000 per month! An operating force of 145 employees and a monthly payroll of $22,000, paid weekly to those employed, gives further testimony that it is no small enterprise. Its appearance and features are those of the successful private business paper—a good news service, photographs in plenty, a sporting page satisfactory to the hottest "fan," and even the inevitable funny page. It does not hestitate at the necessary evil of scareheads or any of the other typographical feats of American newspapers. Often it outdoes the others in news gatherings and makes a "scoop" —particularly on labor news. But never does it forget its biggest job of all—to get over the message of the organized farmers and workers.

"A Daily's the Thing"

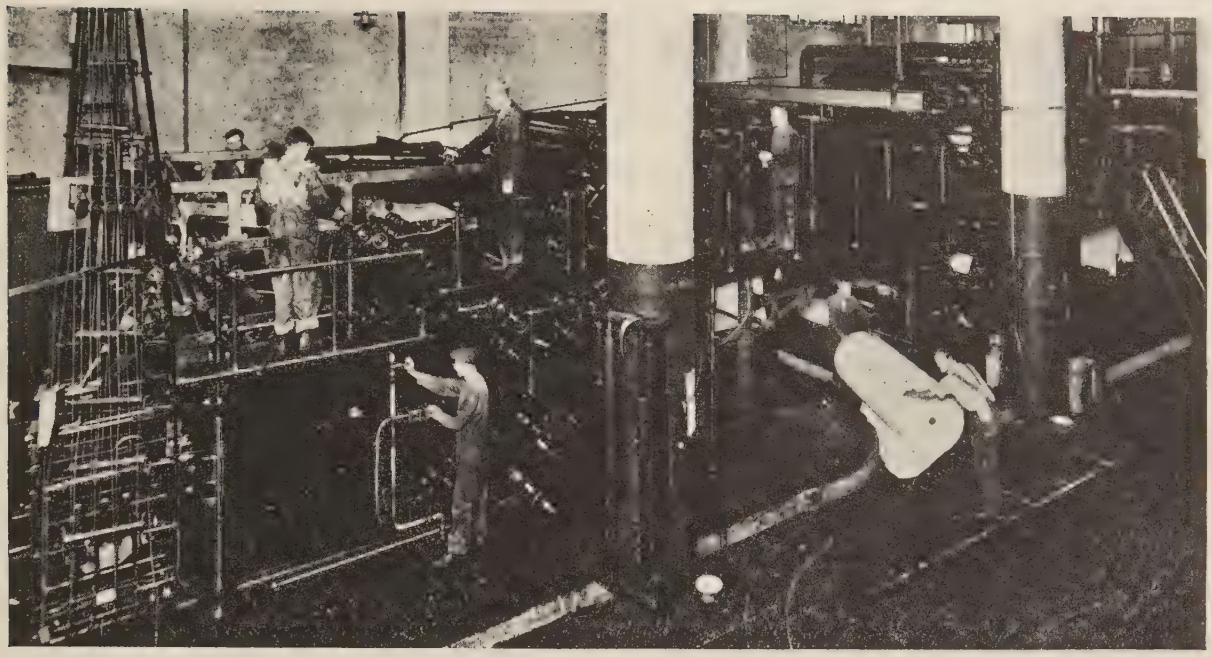
The paper owes its existence to the demand of these farmers and workers. Both of these elements had engaged in numerous industrial and political battles for better conditions. Always they found themselves handicapped, and often beaten, by the misrepresentation of the daily papers owned and controlled by big business interests. Finally, it dawned upon them that what they needed, to have their side presented fairly to the mass of the people, was a daily paper. Pamphlets, of course, served a purpose. But they were difficult to get out, uncertain of being read and irregular in distribution; while the capitalist dailies reached the people six or seven times each week, in an easy, readable form. A daily labor paper could do the same thing, stating the truth on labor's side, exposing falsehoods and above all, printing the news which other papers suppressed.

So these Northwest farmers and workers said: "Let's try our hand at a daily." The result was the incorporation of the Northwest Publishing Company, a stock company which now has 6,000 stockholders, who have purchased $650,000 worth of stock. The corporation is managed by a Board of Directors, elected annually at the stockholders meeting. Two of the directors are farmers, two are city workers and one is a young working class lawyer, who is secretary of the company.

Making the Paper Go

How was this big job of organizing a large farmers-workers corporation accomplished? It is an interesting story of enthusiasm and persistence. The five original incorporators enjoyed the full confidence of both, movements. Labor unions were visited, farmers meetings and picnics arranged, the objects of the corporation explained and stock offered for sale. Many labor unions subscribed for stock in blocks of from one to twenty-one shares of one hundred dollars each. Stock was sold to individual purchasers on the installment plan, ten dollars cash and the balance in weekly or monthly installments.

That was only the beginning of the story. We found considerable opposition from real estate agents and owners to our renting a building. There were, of course, few buildings suited to our purpose. Consequently, we decided to go a step further and build a home of its own for the new daily. Now we have one of the finest mechanical plants of any newspaper in the Northwest. The building was designed for light and strength and for the comfort and convenience of the workmen. There are spacious locker rooms and wash rooms on every floor. Any room will carry the heaviest machinery and stand a working load strain of 200 pounds per square foot. The building is of concrete and steel construction, faced with dark brown



I. P. E. U. 624

PRESS ROOM OF "MINNESOTA DAILY STAR"
Equipped with Modern Newspaper-Making Machinery

brick, four stories high, covering 100 by 110 feet of ground space.

The sale of stock went on very successfully from the start, working conditions and farming conditions being better in 1919 and 1920 than at present. It requires a great deal of organizing work, a host of salesmen and a great deal of co-operation to build a real daily paper. The work is not finished when the paper starts, it is really only begun. Your loyal supporters must continually help to secure subscribers and advertisers because a paper that supports the workers will not find an easy field among the advertisers. In fact, even advertisers who are satisfied with the service and customers secured are often frightened away by big business. The newness of a paper is always a handicap.

Obstacles to be Overcome

The workers' own wives have to be educated to take a new paper. They complain that there is not enough advertising—for shopping purposes, or not the right stories. Your own working men will tell you your paper is not large enough. They frequently find other faults which they would not so readily find in a capitalist daily. All this has to be overcome by hard work and constant organizing and intelligent and constructive argument. A daily paper can never be expected to pay its way for at least three or five years. You have to prepare for this by selling enough stock to carry your losses until the turning point from deficit to income arrives. Neither success nor glory comes early to those who start a daily paper of the working class, but it does come with hard work, persistent effort and good business management. The latter must be particularly stressed.

The Daily Star's Success

We of the Daily Star, 6,000 of us, all small stockholders, have had a large measure of success. Not financial success—but success in building a real People's Paper, with the ownership in the hands of the common people, with no master to serve but the common good. We have more subscribers in the city of Minneapolis than one of our competitors, 18 years old; we are only a few thousand behind the second daily, and we are only 22 months old. We are not making money; we are giving service. We do not need to make money in order to continue to do our duty as we see it. Each of our stockholders has but a small investment. If we paid dividends of even ten per cent, it would amount to so little to each one that the dividend fever is not likely to attack our people. We only need to make the running expenses meet the income, maintain our standard of news gathering and educational work, fight the people's battles, and help gain control of power for the people. Without making money, the Daily Star on that basis, will continue to be a success, according to the ideas of its stockholders, promoters and officers. It is doing the job it set out to do, and up to the moment doing it well.

Lessons from New York's Labor Daily

Hearst Spent Millions to Get What Labor Has—But Labor Doesn't Know It

By CHARLES W. ERVIN

THE sea of journalism is strewn with the wrecks of newspapers, which have all come to grief for the same reason—the inability or neglect to organize the groups to whom they looked for support and then proceed to publish that kind of a weekly or daily which the group could financially sustain.

In many cases they started out with a sum of money which looked very large in the aggregate, but was soon dissipated in the cost of publishing. Enthusiasm has been the greatest asset that most of these projects have possessed; and enthusiasm only pays the expense of publishing when it is expressed in continuous financial help, and that sort of enthusiasm wears out more quickly than any other kind.

To be too much ahead of your time, no matter how desirable the accomplishing of your ideals may be, means in the publishing business just what it means in the theatrical business. Only the publishing business is the much more costly of the two, and the loss when it comes is much greater. A play of the highest character with poor box office receipts because there are not enough people in the locality to appreciate it, can be taken off the stage and replaced by a new play more in tune with the taste of the average audience. But a newspaper started to propagate certain ideals in its editorial columns and to publish not scandals, murders and pornagraphic photographs in its news columns, but news that intelligent people are believed to be interested in, cannot change its bill like a theater without abandoning the purpose for which it was founded.

"The Call" an Exhibit of Value

The history of the New York Call, through fourteen years of struggle, is an exhibit that should be of great value to the workers ambitious to start a daily press of their own. The Call started with practically no capital, and it never has had any since. What money it had was invested in machinery, and in a few days after its start it found itself very much up against the financial question.

It had not organized the purchasing power of its readers in order to force advertisers in, nor had it organized a sufficiently large group to insure a circulation that would give it something definite to offer in advertising.

This neglect to organize sufficiently has never been rectified permanently, for the reason that 90 per cent of the energy of its successive managements has been given to just keeping the paper alive.

The opening of the war gave it an opportunity to go to a much larger group, and for the first time the support was in proportion to the task it faced. In the summer and fall of 1917 it became not only self-supporting, but showed a revenue in excess of its disbursements. Late in the fall the Postmaster General arbitrarily deprived it of its second-class mailing rights, thus removing over night a gross revenue of over $48,000 a year, and which was growing continually. This put the paper back in a worse position than it had been before it became self-supporting; and the persecution that followed subjected it in the years of the war and those immediately following to great losses.

Two Enemies: Burleson and Unemployment

These losses, however, were paid by the workers who supported it, owing to the fact that they were all employed continuously. When the unemployment wave, however, swept through the country The Call suffered very much, and for the last two years has been literally gasping for breath.

Of course, in the last analysis, none of the troubles would have come upon it had it had sufficient support from the English-speaking workers. There are so many of them that with a very little bit from each, all of the attempts to ruin The Call financially would have been of no avail.

A campaign to bring about an increase in the number of groups interested in the paper was instituted in the early spring of this year under the name of The Call Labor Conference. This movement has made some progress, but not great enough to yet insure the continued life of the paper.

The Financial Toll in Weeklies

Monthlies and weeklies, of course, do not entail the same financial burdens upon their supporters that a daily does. And yet the three most prominent liberal and radical weeklies in the United States are all run at a financial loss. The only reason they do not have to ask their readers for continued financial support to pay their deficits is the fact that two of them are practically endowed — that is, their yearly deficit is paid by two very wealthy persons, and in the third case the deficit is met by a small group of wealthy persons who take care of it and thereby avoid any appeal for help in its columns. The scores of weekly newspapers scattered throughout the country, having no such wealthy persons or groups to go to, come and go with the passing of each year. They last just as long as the enthusiasm of the groups who start them lasts; or, rather, until the constant financial demands upon them discourage them to the point of quitting.

As to the few dailies that have been started in the last twenty years, only one English daily, measured by self-support, can be said to be a success, though it is not yet a money-maker. The city in which it was started, Milwaukee, had the largest Socialist vote in proportion to its size of any city in the country, and it organized the purchasing power of its supporters on the advertising field and their enthusiasm on the circulation field.

It has not had easy sailing by any means; but, owing to the use of this organized power, it has escaped most of the ills that have come to other daily newspapers published in the interests of either the workers or the radical and liberal forces in the country.

In addition to this newspaper in English, the Yiddish and Finnish daily voices of the workers have also been successful. While they have been conducted with much ability, the prime reason for their success has been, of course, the fact that they did not have to compete with newspapers published in English.

A daily newspaper, even when run with the utmost economy, publishing a moderate number of pages, is a very costly proposition.

The Cost of a Daily Paper

An eight-page daily paper, with ten to twenty pages on Saturday and Sunday, costs very close to a thousand dollars a day to publish. If it had a hundred thousand readers, with 25 per cent of its space devoted to advertising at the rate that a hundred thousand readers would entitle it to, it could pay its way if sold to the reader at 2 cents.

Circulation: The Great Talisman to Success

"Get circulation and all things shall be added unto you," is the golden rule of every newspaper run to amass wealth for its owner. To get this circulation millions are often spent before a penny of profit comes back. Then the money spent in getting it is counted as capital invested in the same manner as if it had been spent in erecting a great manufacturing establishment and equipping it with machinery.

And this circulation is the only real asset any paper has. Out of it have been built up great fortunes. The rates which newspaper owners can charge advertisers for space are based entirely upon the amount of circulation they can show. The financial rewards are very great if the money spent brings circulation, and the losses are just as great if it does not.

Money flows out so quickly in the building of a newspaper property that only a wealthy person or group can stand the financial drain upon them while waiting for returns upon the capital invested. To start with a moderate capital means certain disaster. Many an owner in the past has had to let go of his property when success was in sight just because his means were exhausted by the tremendous drain upon them.

These remarks, of course, apply to newspaper properties run primarily for profit. Where the readers of a paper are actually interested in its success the process of building it up is another matter, and it can be built up without a great amount of capital.

Just as the workers use their collective power to build a great union; to erect great assembly halls; to found and support banks, so they could use the same power to build up great newspapers at a very small per cent of the cost that it now costs the capitalists to build them.

In every city the vast majority of the people are the workers. Being this vast majority means that they are the circulation that the owners of newspapers spend so much money to get. They are the vast majority who buy the goods and service that advertisers pay such great sums for the privilege of offering in the columns of the newspapers.

In the city of New York, for example, if the workers really understood their power, they

CAPTURING THE PRESS

No Need to Die on Barricades—Only Take One Paper Rather Than Another.

(From Norman Angell's new book, "The Press and the Organization of Society")

*WHATEVER the evils of the existing industrialized Press, * * * a State Press monopoly would be a still greater evil. That would be a short cut return to a position out of which we have had to struggle as the first condition of freedom; it would re-create an instrument of intellectual tyranny as evil as the Inquisition, and would inevitably undermine both the efficiency of the Government by depriving it of real criticism, and the capacity for self-rule on the part of the mass by the silencing of minority opinion, and so of real discussion and vital intellectual life.*

In what direction, then, may we look for solution?

* * *

For the workers, struggling towards a new order, the problem is narrowed down to the simple issue: if their present plans are to have even a chance of success, they must be preceded by the establishment of a Press that will fully and completely state their case; that will be in a position to neutralize the "stunts" and "ramps" that would inevitably be started by the capitalist Press to misrepresent and to create prejudice against every effort towards socialization that the workers might make.

* * *

It is not a question here of fighting a "bloody revolution against the massed forces of Capital." No artillery is needed. No "hired assassins" have to be overcome; no armies to be defeated; no blockades to be defied; no barricades to be built; no dictatorship of the proletariat to be proclaimed — though the change would be in effect the moral dictatorship of the workers. There is here the opportunity to capture, without bloodshed or suffering, the greatest stronghold, the greatest source of power of Capitalism and the old order: the means by which it controls the mind, and consequently the acts and policy of the nation. What is needed for that immense conquest by the workers is not to die upon the barricades: it is to take one paper instead of another as they go to work in the morning. That little daily act would place capitalism at their mercy. **No "force" could prevail against the determination of the workers not to read a capitalist paper.** *No military coercion could be effective. For a generation or two the workers have been asked to rise and cast off their chains; they are told they must be ready to die for the revolution. Certainly millions would be ready to give their lives, but are they ready to give up the sporting page of their favorite trust paper for a page, not at first so entertainingly devised, of a paper produced by their Union or Co-operative Society?*

There is here a test of the capacity of the workers to liberate themselves.

could start a daily paper and have 500,000 circulation for it the first day it issued from the press. What Hearst has spent millions to secure for the **Journal** they could have without the expenditure of a penny. The only money they would have to spend would be for the equipment of their publishing establishment. In smaller cities they could have the same circulation in proportion. The railroad workers have shown what can be done with a weekly press by giving **Labor** a circulation into the hundreds of thousands.

Advertising Depends on Circulation

Given circulation, the advertising must follow. No great department store owner could hold out against the purchasing power of hundreds of thousands. He might hate the workers and their unions with the bitterest hatred, but he must sell his goods; and if he did not advertise, his competitors would. A great group of workers could force any advertiser into their paper.

Let us take a national advertiser, for example. Say a manufacturer of soap. Let a great group of workers be told that a certain brand of soap refused to carry an ad in their paper because of its policy. What do you think would become of the sale of that particular brand in that locality?

There is no project in which the organized workers could engage as certain of success as the establishment of their own press if they wanted to use their collective power to the limit. Every newspaperman knows this, and knowing wonders why they do not use it. Every man and woman toiling in the struggling workers' press knows it also, and knowing it, loses heart as they see year after year papers started and put out of business by nothing but the workers' neglect of their own interests.

It's Up to the Workers Themselves

The press of the country, with a few notable exceptions, is run against the interests of the majority of the people who support it. The press of the workers will continue to struggle and be inefficient in its service just as long as those in whose interest it is run refuse to support it. It takes no transcendent ability, no supreme genius to put over a workers' press. It takes just ordinary sense upon the part of the workers, exercised in the use of their collective power. Until they use this power, their press as a whole will be a failure no matter how many misguided enthusiasts persist in giving up their lives in a vain attempt to establish a newspaper to tell the truth to the people.

News Gathering for Labor

Present Work of the Federated Press and Its Hope for the Future

By CARL HAESSLER

ENTERING the second half of its third year, **The Federated Press** stands out both as a pride and disappointment to its friends and as an increasing anxiety to its enemies.

Eight papers constituted the membership, January 1, 1920. They received mimeographed news sheets two or three times a week. At present there are almost 100 papers, daily, weekly and monthly, receiving the service, which is linotyped and mailed to them daily. In addition, wire service is supplied at request and a weekly cartoon and photo service is maintained.

The roster of papers includes 17 dailies. Publications' subscribers are as far apart in policy as **The Nation** or **The New Republic** and the **One Big Union Monthly,** the **Advance** (Amalgamated Clothing Workers), and the **South Bend Free Press** (strictly A. F. of L.), **The Liberator** and the **Minnesota Star** or **The Milwaukee Leader.**

There are Liberal, Farmer-Labor, Socialist, I. W. W., Communist, Anarchist, A. F. of L. and independent labor papers on the daily mailing list. The chairman of the Executive Board is an orthodox A. F. of L. man, while the vice chairman is a leader in the largest unaffiliated union. As an impartial labor news service, **The Federated Press** has succeeded in steering carefully enough to retain its diverse membership.

The Gathering of News

News is gathered by its organized bureaus, staff correspondents, occasional correspondents, the member papers and the central Chicago office. The central office distributes the news every day through its printed service sheet, which contains about 6,500 words, and goes to all papers and individuals subscribing. Daily papers receive, in addition, news direct from the bureaus by mimeograph and by wire on request. Special services are maintained for papers paying special assessments. The European bureau, directed by Louis P. Lochner in Berlin, sends a special service. The A. F. of L. convention at Cincinnati was covered by Laurence Todd as a special service for papers paying the special assessment therefor. During the armed clash between strikers and the anti-labor government of South Africa, **The Federated Press** received cable news from **The London Daily Herald.** When the anti-labor forces of Chicago united to exploit the murder of two policemen by unknown men as a pretext for an onslaught on organized labor, **The Federated Press** sent cable news of the actual situation to **The London Daily Herald,** as well as telegrams to papers in the United States that were suspicious of the highly colored dispatches carried by the ordinary press associations.

Bureaus are maintained in Washington, New York, Berlin and Sydney, Australia. Steps have been taken for bureaus in Mexico, South America and India. There are staff correspondents in many of the principal cities of the United States and Canada, and traveling correspondents in Hawaii, Japan, China, India, Russia and Western Europe. Much valuable exclusive news comes from trade union officials and other friends who write as occasional correspondents.

"Scoops" — Chain Papers

The news enterprise of The Federated Press is best attested by the fact that the **Chicago Tribune,** which admits to being "the world's greatest newspaper," does not scorn to pick up scoops from the labor news service. An example was The Federated Press scoop on the strike ballots authorized by the biennial convention of the Railway Employes Department, A. F. of L. The most famous scoop was the news that Big Bill Haywood had jumped bail and escaped to Russia. The most recent one was the announcement of the arbitrator's award in the Chicago Typographical Union case.

A growing department of **The Federated Press** is the publication of chain papers, of which **The Federated Press Bulletin** is the most widely known. The daily news dispatches are utilized for the news matter of these weekly chain papers, with headlines and illustrations and cartoons to make a 12-page paper of three wide columns per page. One to four pages are reserved for local news and advertising for each

chain paper. One page each week is devoted to Upton Sinclair's serial, "King Coal." There are eight of these weeklies now published, serving communities in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. Others are about to be organized.

All these matters are sources of pride to the friends of **The Federated Press.**

The Sad Financial Story!

But there is a sad financial story. **The Federated Press** is still dependent, for a considerable proportion of its income, on donations from individuals and from trade unions. There is no sinking fund for the $50,000 in bonds which mature in 1924. News development is hampered on every hand by lack of operating capital. The organization has, however, survived the unprecedentedly lean labor years following the war-time boom — which critics sometimes forget. Many labor papers during that period went under, and many of those who struggled through did so in part by postponing payments of their assessments to **The Federated Press.**

A criticism also frequently made is that news matter contains too much opinion instead of straight news. The criticism arises from two misapprehensions. Opinon is admitted to the news columns as a rule, only if the article in question is signed. A signature shifts responsibility for the opinion from **The Federated Press** to the writer. Liberals who criticize the presence of opinion frequently overlook the fact that opinion in a signed article is not only permissible, but valuable. The second misapprehension concerns the function and resources of **The Federated Press.** People who read the dispatches of the **Associated Press,** the **United Press** and the **Hearst International News Service,** as they must if they read ordinary papers at all, tend to take the large doses of opinion as matter of course, because that is the newspaper diet they are used to. The familiar is the accepted. But even a small flavor of opinion in a less familiar news service is quickly scented and pounced upon. **The Federated Press** is unable, with its present equipment, to furnish an all-round service. As an impartial labor news service it must concentrate on the most vital news demanded by its member papers. It supplements and corrects the other services. One of its most pleasant duties, for example, is keeping watch over the devious course of its neighbor, **The Chicago Tribune.** A triumph in this department was the reprinting in mat form of an alleged famine picture published by **The Tribune** as a photograph of the Soviet bullets, supposedly showered upon the hungry in Moscow in 1921, together with **The Tribune's** recantation the next day with the confession that the photograph actually pictured a street scene in Petrograd during the war, and had previously appeared before in The Tribune in the issue of November 4, 1917, before the Bolsheviki came into power.

Enemies and Friends

The enemies of **The Federated Press,** who first disdained to notice us, are now active and far-reaching in their hostility. The inner circle of the A. F. of L. have launched heavy attacks, culminating at the 1922 convention. The accusations are in large measure a tribute to the success of **The Federated Press** in maintaining a news service that caters to all factions in the labor movement.

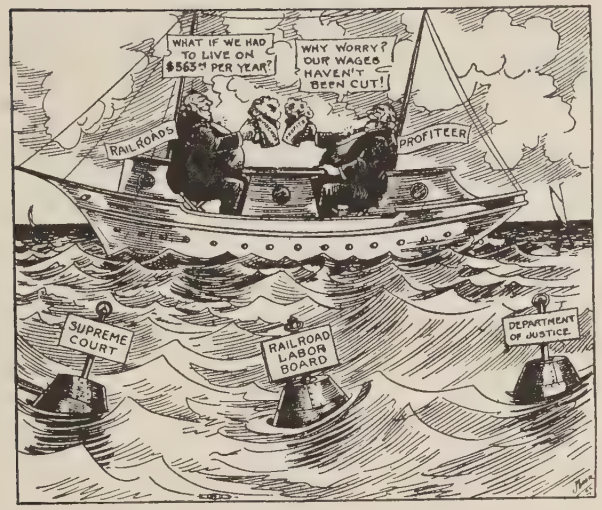
It has reported, for example, the bitter attacks made by Gompers on William Z. Foster; and it has printed Foster's reply. It has presented both sides of the John L. Lewis - Alexander Howat controversy among the United Mine Workers. It has kept abreast of the fight between Andrew Furuseth's International Seamen's Union and the Marine Transport Workers (I. W. W.) It has carried the charges of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman regarding bad treatment of political prisoners in Russia, and the plea of Anatole France that they be given better treatment, as well as the favorable reports of visitors to the Soviet Republic. Serving no one group exclusively, it has drawn down the wrath of the faction at present dominant in the A. F. of L.

Friends and enemies seem to be confident that **The Federated Press** will live. The A. F. of L. inner circle would not waste ammunition on a dying institution.

Its friends see in it the first successful cooperative enterprise on a national and international scale undertaken by the joint efforts of dissenters of all shades from the existing order. Its friends see **The Federated Press** of the future as the dominant news service, with resources to report all happenings of importance on an impartial basis to its member papers, the dominant labor press of the dominant labor republics of the world. The same picture, seen by its enemies, provokes their attacks. Its future power, more than its present strength, is what they fear.

The Story of a Crime

By LABOR CARTOONISTS



John M. Baer in "Labor" *I. P. E. U. 624*

SAFE BEYOND THE 3-MILE LIMIT

Robert Minor in "The Worker" *I. P. E. U. 624*

23 CENTS AN HOUR

John M. Baer in "Labor" *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE WORKER, AS USUAL, CARRIES THE LOAD

WITH THESE POWERFUL HANDS OF MINE I'LL STRANGLE AND ROB THESE FELLOWS ONE AT A TIME IF I TACKLE THEM SINGLY I CAN DO AS I PLEASE
TRAINMEN
ENGINEERS
CONDUCTORS
AGENTS
TELEGRAPHERS
RAIL ROAD OWNERS
U.S. WAGE BOARD
R.R. SHOP WORKERS
CARMEN

Ryan Walker in "New York Call" *I. P. E. U. 624*

WILL THEY ALL BE STRANGLED AND ROBBED?

Ryan Walker in "New York Call" *I. P. E. U. 624*

BUSY DAYS FOR THE AX

Labor Opinion

THE "ANTI-LABOR" SUPREME COURT

THE United States Supreme Court is popularly supposed "to have its ear to the ground." Nevertheless, it hastened the Civil War with its Dred Scott decision fifty years ago. Now it has aroused a storm of protest by its decisions that unions can be sued, in the **Coronado Coal Company case.**

President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., declares this decision "a blow at the very foundation of the organized labor movement in the United States," and the International Labor News Service (of the A. F. of L.) denounces it as **"one of a series of definitely anti-labor decisions."** The other decisions in the series, the News Service adds, are the following:

No. 1—The Duplex case wherein the court held that section 20 of the Clayton Act providing "that no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States or a judge or the judges thereof in any case between employer and employes growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment" no longer held and was unconstitutional.

No. 2—That picketing is illegal because of "the inevitable intimidation of the presence of groups of pickets." The decision in this case allowed tea party picketing, one polite "missionary" at a factory gate.

No. 3—That the child labor law is unconstitutional. This decision nullified the law placing a tax on products of child labor in interstate commerce.

The **New Majority,** organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, asks "What will be the effect of the decision?" and answers:

It will be to endanger the funds of every union whenever a strike occurs within the membership of the union. Moreover, it will place in a particularly hazardous position banks owned in part by unions, cooperative factories controlled by unions or any other form of union property. It is virtually a denial of the right to strike, by threatening a damage suit by the employer against whom a strike may be called, to recover from the union three times the loss alleged as a result of the stoppage of production as a result of the strike, and a consequent financial wiping out of the union.

In its next issue the **New Majority** applauds Senator La Follette for his attack on the court before the A. F. of L. Convention, but considers that the remedy which he proposed—that Congress should be empowered to make laws valid which the court declared unconstitutional by passing them a second time—to be too "conservative."

Instead (it submits) the Supreme Court should be compelled to become a law-abiding institution, and to obey the constitution and laws of this land, which provide that the Congress and President alone function in the creation of law and national policy.

In strange contrast to these and many other broadsides against the court, the **United Mine Workers' Journal,** official organ of the international union affected, heralds it as a victory because the particular strike in issue was held not to have been sanctioned by the international, and because "the decision says that coal mining is not interstate commerce, and that Congress

Minnesota Daily Star. *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE TARGET

has no power to treat it as such." The **Journal** also says:

If a labor union can be sued, as was decided by the United States Supreme Court in the Coronado case, then it can also sue. If a labor union can sue, then there is no good reason why it should not utilize the law and the courts for the protection of itself, its members and their welfare against oppression, damage or outrage.

The **Oregon Labor Press,** commenting on this statement, thinks the "Mine Workers' editor is an optimist," and adds:

It is indeed astonishing, after all the experiences of the miners in the courts, to find a high official of the union who has faith in any justice from that source.

The **Panther Creek News,** conducted by the miners of District of Pennsylvania, also finds danger in the decision, saying:

In a narrow sense, the decision in the Coronado case is a victory for the U. M. W. of A., inasmuch as the organization does not have to pay the $600,000 damages which were found against it in the lower courts.

But, from the viewpoint of Labor at large, and especially from the viewpoint of unions who are principally engaged in interstate commerce, as the railroad brotherhoods, for instance, the decision is absolutely crushing.

But it finds nothing surprising in the decision, because

Courts are not instituted for the benefit of labor, but for the protection of productive property. And if, as it seems, American labor has reconciled itself to the fundamental principle of the private ownership of productive property, it also must reconcile itself to its corollary, the ownership of the government by the owners of productive property.

The **New York Call** states that the decision has brought about **"the great crisis of labor,"** and points to what the British workers did to annul a similar decision (in the Taff Vale Railway case) 21 years ago. It asks:

Have the organized workers of the United States the vision, the courage and initiative to break with old precedents and follow the example of their British brothers?

and says in answer:

Without political power at Washington and in the state legislatures, the unions are at the mercy of the masters of industry of this country. The drift in many quarters now is toward an independent party of the working class upon a federated basis like the British party.

It welcomes this development as one "that will bring the workers out of the enemy party and into a party of their own, for their emancipation from the intolerable reaction that is supreme today."

"But," adds the **Panther Creek News,** "the establishment of Labor equality before the law will require far more than a share in political power. Such an equality must rest on the rock foundation of equality in ownership of productive property."

HERRIN

LABOR PRESS comment, on the whole, agrees with the Chicago **New Majority** that the killing of mine guards and strikebreakers by miners at Herrin, Ill., "is a deplorable thing," and with the **New York Call** that "the miners have probably been maneuvered into a terrible position." But the majority of labor papers also agree with the latter that "an equal share of blame rests with the reactionary press and politicians," who have "glorified force and murder for five years," and have contributed to the rise of "mobism and violence." With the former paper they say:

Not so very long ago, when international capitalists staged a real honest-to-goodness war over in Europe, hundreds upon hundreds of young men were recruited by governments to murder other young men whom they had never seen and who had never done them any wrong. All in the name of "democracy."

The horrors committed on battlefields by these boys, incited by every possible physical and mental stimulation, will never be told. Some tales have, of course, leaked out and are now common knowledge, of Americans throwing grenades down dugouts on a battlefield that had been captured because it was easier to kill off the prisoners below than to take them captive, of soldiers on both sides crucifying each other, of other atrocities which make what happened in Herrin pale in contrast. And all this was approved and legalized, because it was the bosses' war and the bosses were doing the killing.

But a war started by the bosses and won by workingmen? That is a different matter. It just depends on who does the killing. If it's the boss, then it's 100 per cent patriotism. If it's the workingman, it's murder, anarchy, bolshevism.

In the main, the labor press is also at one with the **Minnesota Daily Star** in this final conclusion:

The Coroner's jury has rendered a verdict which states: "We, the jury, find from the evidence that the deaths of the decedents were due to acts, direct and indirect, of officials of the Southern Illinois Coal Company."

The country, however, ought not to be satisfied with mere blame-placing. When open warfare blazes in an industry there must be intolerable conditions. Men do not make war except at the orders of government, unless the blood has been stirred to fever heat.

It is known that the management of the Southern Illinois Coal Company was reckless in its provocations. It spurned the pleas of other coal owners, of impartial citizens and of county officials for less belligerent preparations. The mines were prepared for war. Strikebreakers were brought in and armed. The armed guards of the company patrolled the public highways.

The first shots were fired by the mine guards. Two union miners were killed. . . . The red flames have died down at Herrin. The dead are buried. Will the country be satisfied with mere blame-placing? Or will it demand that conditions which prepare for the breaking loose of hell be swept away?

Bearding the "Better America" Federation in Its Den

California Teachers Fight For Freedom—and Win

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

FROM COAST TO COAST

THIS victory of the California teachers will encourage educators everywhere in their battle for teachers' organization and freedom of education. This battle is going on everywhere, from coast to coast. In New York City a special committee has been appointed under the Lusk laws adopted by the last legislature, for the purpose of holding private hearings in regard to teachers' "loyalty" and "qualifications." This "star chamber" proceeding was directly aimed at the Teachers' Union, which has not only aggressively fought for better conditions for the teachers, but also consistently for educational freedom. Organized labor has always opposed the Lusk laws, and the New York Central labor body again went on record in favor of their repeal, as a result of the appointment of the "advisory" committee. The New York fight will not be fully won until the whole legislative provision for the **New Inquisition** *is wiped off the statute books.*

THE Pacific mouthpiece of "Big Business" is the Better America Federation. It occupies an entire floor in the Corporation Building of Los Angeles and is the successor of the Commercial Federation of California. Its president is Harry M. Haldemann, head of the Pacific Pipe Supply Co. When the teachers of San Jose talked of unionizing, the Commercial Federation of California put a two-column advertisement in the *San Jose Herald,* stating that their purpose was not only to bring about cooperation between employer and employee, but "to raise the standard and safeguard the future of the public schools, colleges and universities of America by exercising greater care in the *selection of teachers* to the end that the mental, moral and physical training of those who will hereafter form our citizenship may be intrusted only to *patriotic* teachers."

The Federation further maintained that teachers must not only keep aloof *from political and industrial discussions,* but refrain from allying themselves with trade unions. Those who dared ignore their advice were threatened with dismissal for being untrue to the traditions of the teaching profession.

Drive on Union Teachers

The threats of the Commercial Federation, which was later transformed into the Better America Federation, were more than mere mouthings. Their subservient National Education Association superintendents, Fred Hunter, then President of the N. E. A. and Superintendent of Oakland, Jerome Cross of Fresno, Susan B. Dorsey of Los Angeles and Superintendent B. Wilson of Berkeley, began their attacks upon the unionized teachers. Superintendent Cross dismissed the President of the Elementary Teachers' Union and the vice-president of the High School Teachers' Union on charges afterwards shown to be unfounded. The teachers, aided by the organized workers—especially the oil workers—and the liberal elements in the community, sued the superintendent for libel and were given a verdict by the courts. Money for the defense of Superintendent Cross was contributed by the Better America Federation. Is it any wonder that, at the Riverside Convention of superintendents of California, Superintendent Cross stated, according to reports, that teachers' unions could not be handled by peaceful conferences, but only with "a baseball bat or a gatling gun"! And this from the exponent of law and order!

Invasion of Oregon

The B. A. F., not content with its progress in California, determined to intimidate the teachers of Oregon by placing them at the mercy of their superintendent. This could only be accomplished by destroying their tenure law of 1917. According to Senators Hume and Thomas, the orders for the killing of the tenure law were given by the Portland *Oregonian* and A. L. Mills, President of the First National Bank of Portland, a leader in the movement for the establishment of the "open shop" in Portland.

To aid in the repeal of the law, the B. A. F. sent its pamphlets, "Making Socialists Out of College Students," to every member of the legislature. The character of this leaflet is shown by

the statement that Lenin's thumbprint was on the birth certificate of the Committee of 48 (shades of their keynoter who shouted, "We are individualists, not socialists"). The campaign of the B. A. F. was followed by a joint resolution calling for the appointment of a committee of five to determine whether or not un-American or otherwise unsound economic doctrines were being taught. To give impetus to this movement, the B. A. F. was instrumental in having a resolution introduced into the California Legislature providing that any teacher "who expressed an opinion suggesting any change in the Constitution of the United States should have his certificate revoked." (Page Senator Lusk and Archie Stevenson.) This resolution was killed through the efforts of organized labor, the National Education Association, as usual, doing nothing.

"Un-American Doctrines"

What, then, do the B. A. F. and its supporters mean by un-American and unsound economic doctrines? In December, 1920, the B. A. F. stated that the closed shop was un-American. In its newsletter of March 30 and April 20th, 1920, it attacked the Y. W. C. A. for advocating collective bargaining.

On May 13th, Mr. Haldemann informed Susan Barnwell and other socially minded women that the anti-child labor clause, the social insurance clause and the old age disability and pension clause in the Y. W. C. A. creed was "RANK SOCIALISM." The doctrines stigmatized by the B. A. F. as un-American and unsound are the accepted teachings of the leading economists and statesmen of the world. The social legislation condemned by it as "rank socialism" is on the statute books of the most enlightened countries and is advocated by loyal Americans whose patriotism and championship of the established order cannot be questioned.

Just how the teachers are overawed by the subordination of the schools to "Big Business" is illustrated by the cooperation of Superintendent Hunter with the B. A. F. and with its propagandist, Leslie M. Shaw. After the Salt Lake City Conference of the N. E. A., Superintendent Hunter gave a statement to the *Oakland Tribune*, advising the teachers not to join industrial organizations. In September, 1920, he informed all teachers that they must attend *all General Meetings*. This meant that every teacher was forced to listen to people of the type of Mr. Shaw who expounded the doctrines of his book, "Vanishing Landmarks," among which are the following:

N. Y. Call. *I. P. E. U. 624*

A PRODUCT OF LUSKISM

1. Only Socialists, near Socialists and Bolshevists CLAMOR FOR DEMOCRACY.

2. A republic in business IS AN ASS.

3. The initiative, the referendum and the recall are undemocratic and in violation of the Constitution! (And this in a state which has both the initiative and the referendum!)

4. It is foolish to send men to Congress to vote the sentiment of their district instead of using their own judgment.

Labor Takes the Offensive

Is it any wonder that the B. A. F. attempted to raise $20,000 to print copies of Shaw's "patriotic" masterpiece with a view of free distribution to every teacher of California? The B. A. F., carried away by its control of the schools through subservient superintendents and leaders of the National Education Association, took a fatal step. It induced Superintendent Hunter to invite Woodworth Clum, managing director of the B. A. F., to address the Oakland High School students. In his address, Mr. Clum declared that a proposal to change the Constitution was akin to *treason* and enunciated the following startling doctrine:

"Our form of government in the United States of America *guarantees* to each one of us the *right and opportunity* to earn MORE than a living (will the 6,000,000 unemployed please take notice) . . . while radicals are endeavoring to change our form of government that none of us can earn more than a living."

This address was printed by the B. A. F. in a pamphlet entitled "America is Calling," and addressed to the students of high schools and col-

leges. When 11,000 copies had been sent to the Oakland High Schools for FREE distribution, the Central Labor Council protested. Superintendent Hunter, slightly impressed by this action, promised to recommend that the Board of Education withdraw its consent to the distribution of this pamphlet providing its propaganda nature could be proved.

The Central Labor Council accepted Hunter's challenge. In their letter of January 12th, they proved the propaganda nature of the pamphlet which attacked government ownership and the Socialist party. They maintained that, if the pamphlet were distributed, the Socialist party would be justified in demanding the right to answer the attacks made upon it. Nevertheless, on January 17th, the pamphlet was distributed to every student in the Oakland High Schools. When "America is Calling" was sent by the B. A. F. for distribution to the schools of San Diego, the superintendent, who had his doubts about the propriety of distributing such propaganda, appealed to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. William C. Wood. Mr. Wood ruled that the pamphlet be barred from every public school in the state.

Big Business on the Run

The great struggle for the control of the thought not only of the people of California, but of the nation, is on. Upon its outcome hangs the welfare of millions. The victory of organized labor over the B. A. F. and their servile California superintendents is the harbinger of a better day. The satellites of business in the National Education Association are on the run. They have been beaten in the State Legislature, overruled by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, attacked by the President of the State Housing and Immigration Commission and by leading Catholic priests. Their propaganda literature has been denied the use of the schools, their supporter, Jerome Cross, has been ousted, and the ousted teachers have been vindicated by the courts. The enlightened citizens of California are up in arms over the B.A.F.'s attempt to make the California schools safe for the present economic order. The startled "open shoppers" of the B.A.F. cry "Bolshevism," but they cry in vain because the word has lost its terrors. Public Opinion, roused by organized labor and guided by an intelligent and enlightened group of unionized teachers, is successfully establishing intellectual freedom on the Coast. The teachers of the Atlantic should emulate the achievements of their Western brethren and inaugurate a powerful campaign for the repeal of the infamous Lusk Laws which have throttled educational freedom in the Empire State.

THIS PICTURE IS MEANT FOR YOU

TENT COLONY OF EVICTED UNION MINERS IN WEST VIRGINIA COAL FIELDS

Investigation last month by a public committee composed of Rabbi Stephen Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rev. R. A. McGowan, of the National Catholic Welfare Council, and Winthrop D. Lane, found families in this field to be suffering greatly. These folks need food and clothing to keep up the fight.

Nature Endorses Solidarity

("Psychology and the Workers" Continued)

By PRINCE HOPKINS

CHARLIE CHAPLIN is one of the most productive workers in America. By affording relaxation he increases the productiveness of millions. So argues H. Halliday Sparling, the English logician, who also gave me the following case of one man multiplying the effectiveness of many:

He was a puny little cuss, and somewhat over-fond of his drink. The big navvies at an English ship-building port used to set him up atop the capstan while a gang of them hauled on the ropes; and for the sake of a few shillings and some jugs of beer which the dock-owners gladly paid him, he would play to them on his fiddle. The men, keeping in rhythm with his music, would do their work in about two hours.

The new management of the ship yards tried to effect a petty economy by dismissing the old fiddler. Result: the men were now three hours at the task which with music they used to do in two.

If we say that one hundred men were employed, the little old fiddler represented an additional efficiency of fifty men; and, according to the ethics by which capitalists pay directing officers, he was thus entitled to fifty times the wages of a strong laborer.

The efficiency of a group, however, is raised not so much by individuals who stimulate it as **by the organization of the group itself.** Groups that are psychologically well adjusted work with knowledge, interest, hope, and an open outlook, and find their own discipline, rhythm, and efficiency.

G. D. Herron (**the Revival of Italy,** p. 37) thus comments on the seizure of the north Italian factories and mines in September, 1920, and their management by the workers themselves:

"Of highest significance is the harmony which prevailed among the workers, and the evident hopefulness and even happiness with which they obeyed the somewhat Draconic orders of their committee of action. **A discipline much severer than that which any of the employers had dared was established and exercised by the workers themselves by mutual consent."**

This inner composition of the group must effect two things: first, satisfy the needs of the mass, and secondly, insure justice to minorities.

Enter: The State

What form of social organization is best for man must depend always on circumstances of place and time. In primitive societies, communication is so poor that men know only their neighbors. It would be psychologically unsound to expect them to rise to a sense of unity with those who live in the next town. Early nations, therefore, are of the type called "city states"—small bits of territory ruled by one town, as Thebes or Athens. In the Middle Ages, again and again a powerful leader conquers territory of which he makes himself the chief landlord or king; holding lands under him are his great dukes, who then parcel out smaller subtenancies to barons under themselves, and so on down. Today we have largely got rid of the kings, dukes and barons; but this territorial political unit has through ages been associated in our minds with the ideas of the state. Though it belongs to a period when we were serfs under a hierarchy of landlords, our mental inertia still imposes it upon the state as the pattern of organization for a society that is not territorial but industrial.

Through the failure of the League of Nations, we narrowly escaped giving a new lease of life to this anticipated political order. Wars don't depend on intellectual and legal agreement, but on subtle currents of passion, and on conceptions, true or false, of economic advantage.

A New Line-up

From this truth about war, it appears that as the world organizes itself along occupational instead of geographic lines, the dangers of conflict will be reduced. For, each industrial group sees its dependency upon the prosperity of other, even "foreign," industrial groups more clearly than a nation sees its dependence upon the prosperity of other nations. As on the large, or international, scale, so on the small scale, organization by occupational groups is coming slowly to be recognized as a possible political system. The voters of Oregon, for example, will soon pass upon a proposed constitutional amendment whereby any occupational group numbering one-sixtieth of the voters of the state shall be entitled as such to proportional representation in the state legislature. Such straws show which way the wind blows.

It isn't very psychologically efficient to group together people with no greater mutual concern than that they inhabit the same borough or even nation. (Incidentally, that plan excludes all migratory workers.) The group must be made up of those who have a maximum of interest in common; and most generally this is afforded by a

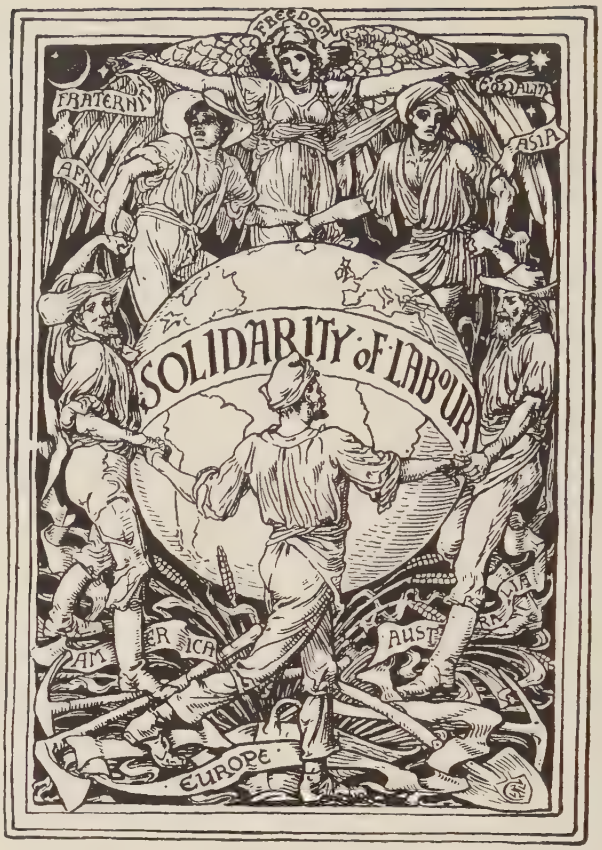
common "ism" or else a common occupation. **"Isms" draw into one membership those who think alike; occupations mold them to become alike.** (Keen observers generally can tell if a man is a doctor, a business-man, a farmer, etc., by his mere facial expression.)

People are naturally interested, likewise, in their occupation more than in neighborhood affairs. Few persons can tell you who is their local councilman, but almost everyone can tell you a very great deal about the leading representatives of his own profession. The consciousness of kind is there much stronger. Only professional politicians are intimate with the details of political machinery, but anyone is ashamed not to know something of his own trade.

The Right to be Wrong

But when society has achieved a form or organization to serve the majority or mass, it has still a duty to perform toward minorities and individuals who comprise it—even the least of them. As we showed in last month's article, society can claim that it provided the stimulation, the culture and the physical and mental tools without which no "great man" could have become what he became nor done what he did. But Society has equally created its criminals and must shoulder the blame for their delinquency. It has no right to allow children to be born in squalor; then, to regiment them in public schools wherein no reverence is felt for them as individuals and as more than future tax-payers; next, to turn them out to shift for themselves in an environment where the most common rule is "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," and finally, to torture them in reformatories and prisons if they go wrong. If the majority must imprison those whom it didn't prevent from wishing to break its laws, it must give them special political power to protect themselves from exploitation by that majority, or from bigoted persecution as political prisoners.

The minds of even the most ethical of us, are not the independent machines we like to imagine them to be, grinding out truth mechanically. Conscious reason is always likely to be warped by unconscious self-interest and clique-interest. The good of our own crowd appears as the good of the nation. "Most men desire to have truth on their side; few, to be on the side of truth." Today some so-called "revolutionists" are trying to muzzle other kinds of revolutionists. Still more, in their fanatic zeal, overlook the rules of common decency. When it interferes with the success of their sect,



VISION OF LABOR SOLIDARITY *I. P. E. U. 624*
From May Day issue of English paper "Freedom"

they discard all ethics as though ethics in itself were not worth conserving for humanity. This affecting to have all truth and all regenerative power within one's own holy book, is the sign of a type of insanity which disguises supreme egotism under the form of altruism. **It blasts the greatest movements with hatred and disruption.**

If majorities could but realize it, they have at least two means of influencing all but the very exceptionally recalcitrant, far more effective than force. These means both are products of the consciousness of kind. The "herd-member," for one thing, always craves the esteem of his fellows. For another, the "herd-member" is suggestible. The leaders of society are those who know how to exploit both of these traits. Society as a whole hasn't yet become sufficiently conscious of itself, to organize its play on these qualities efficiently for the good of the whole. One further word only can be said on this subject now: that the first step toward controlling the attention of the individual in the interest of the social whole, should be the proof on the part of Society that it is itself worthy of respect. Certainly, to do this it must act from higher motives than those which characterize the economic and political "great powers" today.

Labor History in the Making

In The U. S. A.

With this issue, this review of recent labor events becomes a cooperative editorial effort, conducted by the Manager in colaboration with the Board of Editors. (Dr. Laidler has withdrawn from active part-time work on LABOR AGE to give full time to other activities.) Our purpose here is to report the chief happenings of the labor world, not covered in the other pages of the magazine; particularly emphasizing the big constructive efforts of labor in new fields (such as the Russian-American Corporation), and those things likely to be overlooked (such as the Carbon County miners' struggle). Above all, we want at all times to give practical value to these notes by indicating how every worker can evidence his or her solidarity with his fighting comrades, in each big struggle or new effort.

Labor history is rapidly being made these days. The striking miners see victory ahead; the operators and their friend, the Government, agree to a conference. The majority of the Railroad Labor Board decide to cut the shop crafts and maintenance-of-way men below a living wage. The shopmen rebel. The Board outlaws them and encourages other workers to scab on them. Labor's constructive steps go on, in the formation of business corporations and banks, giving hope in the midst of Reaction.

Victory for the Miners?—Help Them Make it Certain

STANDING together with that grit and courage which has placed them among the foremost fighters in Labor's ranks, the striking miners see victory ahead in the impending coal shortage. The first efforts of the President's conference (called by the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor with that shortage in view) came to naught, largely owing to the insistence of the operators that wage contracts be negotiated by states. This would have been fatal to the miner's organization, as state would have been arrayed against state among the workers, and division and wage-cutting competition would be the order of the day. The miners will confer only as they and the operators have done through the last twenty years—on a national basis, with the Central Competitive Field (Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania) as the standard.

Is it not significant that the operators have not even claimed any breaks in the workers' solid front? The union men have been encouraged by the unusual support received from hitherto non-union fields. The Central Pennsylvania non-union miners (counted on to break the strike) have come out strong and stayed out. This is also the case in parts of West Virginia and Utah. These non-union miners need help. They are not eligible for strike benefits. The national union is not able to give them adequate aid. They need food, clothing and tents (for they have been evicted by the companies in large numbers). The American Society of Friends has followed up its splendid European relief work with the decision to aid these miners and their families. Food and clothing will soon move into the Pennsylvania district; but to hold out to the end the non-union miners must have additional support from other sources.

Carbon County, Utah, is typical. It is so far from everything that the miners' struggle there is not generally known. **The Wyoming Labor Journal** gives this glimpse of conditions in that district:

"Immediately following the refusal of the miners to work, the companies with the aid of deputy sheriffs in their employ, lost no time in serving notices of eviction on all single men. This having no apparent effect on the strike situation, this order was extended to all miners with families.

"Pete Ramsey, an old time coal miner, with nine living children, two of whom, Tom aged 17 and Billy aged 13, are hopelessly crippled; being dependent on either parents or other members of the family for everything, was evicted from Spring Canyon by this order. The newest arrival in this family was four weeks old when the eviction took place.

"Several strikers at Kenilworth mine occupied houses on the property of an individual not connected with the operating company, and were not effected by this order. In order to remove them from their houses, the company shut off the water and lights from these houses and for over twenty-four hours, men, women and children were without water.

"In fact it was only when a water wagon was loaned by the town of Helper and this filled with 1,000 gallons of water was taken to them that they had water. Some of these strikers are still occupying the houses and are served with water hauled from a considerable distance. The camp of Kenilworth lies five miles by road from Helper.

"These instances could be multiplied many fold but will serve to show the necessity for quickly supplying tents for the housing of the strikers and more particularly those with families."

SO THIS IS AMERICA
Evicted Family in New River Field, West Virginia, with Household Goods Thrown on the Highway

Further "West Virginia tactics" are reported—in the form of armed "guards," "guard" houses at mine entrances, searchlights which command "the entire canyon for miles," and machine guns on mine tipples.

Aid can be sent: for the Pennsylvania miners to Powers Hapgood, Boswell, Pa.; for the West Virginia miners to John Gatherum, Secretary-Treasurer, District 29, U. M. W. A., Beckley, W. Va.; and for the Utah miners to District 22, U. M. W. A., Box 904, Cheyenne, Wyo. It will be a contribution to a real" Victory Fund."

Russia and America Join Hands

AMERICAN labor is about to engage in international trade! No, you need not rub your eyes or pinch yourself. It is not a dream. The Russian-American Industrial Corporation, sanctioned by the recent convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was incorporated on June 2d under the laws of Delaware. Its purpose is to aid in the economic reconstruction of the Russian Republic by running clothing factories and textile mills in Russia on a cooperative business basis; and owes its existence to the visit of President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated to that country last year.

Hillman was not satisfied that his organization should merely give charity to the starving Russians, but saw that it could best serve them by constructive aid. Also he felt that "the reconstruction of the world must not be left to a few individuals."—the capitalists who are rushing into the Soviet Republic for valuable concessions. He talked to Lenin and other Soviet leaders, receiving an offer from them of concessions for nine clothing and textile factories in Moscow and Petrograd, in return for the advance of working capital. His eloquent appeal for the industrial corporation to the Amalgamated's Chicago convention led to its unanimous endorsement.

Stock in the company (capitalized at $1,000,000) is sold to unions and individuals at $10 a share. Provision is made against a controlling interest falling into the hands of the holders of large blocks of stock. In addition to capital, technical aid will also be furnished by the American group, which jointly with the Soviet Government will manage the undertaking. This is undoubtedly the biggest venture in productive co-operation that American labor has launched. Its success will mean the opening to the organized workers of a new world of democratic effort. Those who wish to help Russia to get on its feet and to participate in the returns from such an enterprise should communicate with Sidney Hillman, President, Russian-American Industrial Corporation, 31 Union Square, New York.

"Amid Great Rejoicing"

ENTERPRISES in foreign parts have not distracted the Amalgamated from big constructive jobs at home. In the same issue of the **Advance**, organ of the Clothing Workers, that features the messages of congratulation and support received for the new international corporation, an account is given of the opening of the latest edition to the list of labor banks.

"The Chicago Bank," the **Advance** says, "the Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank of Illinois—the first financial institution to be owned and controlled by the clothing workers of America, workers who a few years back were among the most exploited and worst underpaid of American employes, opened with a great demonstration on Saturday, July 1, according to schedule. The bank's spacious and handsome quarters, at 371 West Jackson Boulevard, were the scene throughout the day of jubilant gatherings of members, who came by the thousands to greet the opening of their institution and to make their deposits."

The first day's deposits reached over half a million dollars. Including its $200,000 capital and $100,000 reserve, which have been oversubscribed, the bank thus started with $1,000,000 resources in its opening twenty-four hours. In addition to members and locals of the Amalgamated, other unions have expressed their intention of placing their funds with the bank, which is in charge of an experienced banker. The general office of the Amalgamated will make a large deposit.

In the past few weeks a **number of other new labor banks have either been organized or are being promoted.** The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has organized a holding company which has purchased control of the Nottingham Savings and Banking Company in the suburbs of Cleveland. This bank has a capitalization of $75,000 and has resources of $525,000. It will be closely associated with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative Bank of Cleveland, Ohio. In Minneapolis the railway workers are proceeding with a Brotherhood bank, with a capitalization at $200,000. In Birmingham, Ala., the labor organizations are establishing the Federal Bank and Trust Company, with a capital of $500,000, divided into 50,000 shares of $10 each. The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, as well as the Order of Railway Telegraphers, are taking steps to carry out the suggestions of their officers and conventions for the purpose of creating banks in connection with their organizations.

Oh, "Most Just" Railroad Board!

MECHANICS WANTED. Machinists, Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Sheet Metal Workers, Electricians and their helpers." Thus read the railroads' ads in the capitalist papers over the country. The shopmen, 400,000 strong, under the leadership of B. M. Jewell, have had the courage to throw down the gauntlet to the U. S. Railroad Labor Board and to strike. If there were any doubts as to the reasons for the creation of that Board by the Esch-Cummins Act, the majority members (representing the railroads—and "the public") laid all such doubts at rest by their decision of June 17. Under this decision they cut the wages of the clerks, shopmen and maintenance-of-way men below a living standard. To be exact, the wage set for section hands is the royal sum of 23 cents per hour, or $563.04 per year, if they work 306 days per year. But as a matter of fact, their average is about 250 working days per year, **which means a yearly income of $460.00 for such employees.** The minority (labor) members showed that a new clerk's wages would be from $357 to $968 below the $2,133 "health and decency" budget of the U. S. Department of Labor, while common labor would miss the budget by $1,197.

The maintenance-of-way men have decided for the time being not to go out with the shopmen. The Board has outlawed the strikers, calling upon the roads to form "new unions," and acclaiming the strikebreakers as 100 per cent patriots. **The situation gives champions of amalgamation a strong talking point.** This is the third big railroad wage cut this year, the Board taking up one group of workers after another. While the shopmen are out, with scabs taking their places, the other crafts remain in. In the meantime, the militia are called out in Illinois and Missouri. **The Kansas Industrial Court gets busy.** The strong industrial organization of the miners has evidently had that court bluffed, for it has done nothing against them in their big strike; so much so that the **United Mine Workers Journal** accused it "of cold feet." But now it publicly announces that it will proceed against the shopmen. Of one detached group it evidently has no fear.

Bravo! For the Garment Workers.

IN sharp contrast with this situation is the victory of the strongly organized and shrewdly managed International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Early in July the union renewed its contract with the employers at war-time wages and conditions—the same contract which the employers sought to evade last year and on which they were so decisively beaten. **This gives the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union the distinction of being practically the only international to maintain its war wages in the face of reaction.** Much is due to its compact and extensive form of organization, taking in every group in the industry, even the retail salesmen. Much is also due to the union's keen leadership, which has brought it successfully through negotiation after negotiation.

Open the Prisons—

PRESIDENT HARDING could not find time to see the **Children Crusaders** — children of the political prisoners still confined in federal penitentiaries. He could find time, however, to intercede for the life of a dog in Pennsylvania. Nothing daunted by this indifference of the President, those who are interested in amnesty for these prisoners have begun another big drive for their release. Some encouragement has been given this effort by the "pardon" of Vincent St. John and Clyde Hough, in the latter part of June. This pair had been convicted in the Chicago trial of leading I. W. W.'s—although St. John had not been a member of the organization for many years, and Hough was in jail for refusing to register at the time the "conspiracy" against the government was alleged to have taken place. Four other war-time political prisoners—Olin P. Anderson and Charles Plahn, I. W. W.'s, and William Benefield and G. T. Bryan, Oklahoma farmers, were paroled shortly after the release of St. John and Hough.

The second week in July was observed as National Amnesty week, labor bodies, defense committees, church societies and other like organizations joining in an effort to secure 1,000,000 signatures to a petition for amnesty. This petition is to be presented to the President by a delegation of distinguished men and women in public life—labor leaders, clergymen of all denominations, writers, officials, etc. Should this demonstration of the feeling throughout the country not move the President, the campaign will be continued until some means is found to open his eyes. There is nothing on which all groups of labor have so unanimously agreed as that men should not be confined longer because of their opinions. **Labor's demand has been and is that they should be speedily released.**

New York Journal *I. P. E. U. 624*

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

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The Courts and Radicalism at Cincinnati

STIRRED by repeated judicial assaults and encouraged by the address of Senator Robert M. La Follette, the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor took definite steps toward clipping the claws of the courts. Senator La Follette received a great ovation on the third day of the convention, when he declared that "today the actual ruler of the American people is the Supreme Court of the United States," and attacked the court for its usurpation of power. His proposal was adopted by the convention, providing for:

(1) That no inferior federal judge shall set aside a law of Congress on the ground that it is unconstitutional.
(2) That if the Supreme Court assumes to decide any law of Congress unconstitutional, or by interpretation undertakes to assert a public policy at variance with the statutory declaration of Congress, which alone under our system is authorized to determine the public policies of government, the Congress may by repassing the law nullify the action of the court.

Declaring that "the American peopel are facing a critical situation," in that "judicial oligarchy is threatening to set itself above the elected legislators" and "the people themselves," a special committee headed by B. M. Jewell, President of the Railway Employes Department, recommended additional steps. These recommendations, endorsed by the convention, were: That constitutional amendments be favored destroying child labor, prohibiting the enactement of any law interfering with the workers' right of organization, and making the constitution more easily amendable. Also, that legislation be pressed for immediately, providing a child labor law which will overcome the objections of the Supreme Court to such laws passed heretofore, a law making more definite the labor amendments to the Clayton Act, and a law repealing the Sherman anti-trust law.

Radical proposals of any kind had a small look-in at the convention. Resolutions committing the Federation to industrial unionism as a general policy were voted down without even a roll call. The suggestion for a universal union label met the same fate. The Federation's previous attacks on the Soviet government were reaffirmed, the convention endorsing the majority report of the resolutions committee, which denounced the Russian Republic for its policy of repressing free speech and assemblage. The nationalization resolution, adopted by the Montreal and Denver conventions, was not introduced. This leads the **Advance,** organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to label the A. F. of L. "a Gibraltar of Reaction," and the convention itself "another mark of disgrace to the American labor movement." Those more sympathetic with the policy of the Federation point to the overwhelm-

ing victory of the conservatives as evidence that the great mass of the union membership is not in sympathy with radical proposals.

The efforts of the progressive wing, led by the railroad group, to secure further membership on the Executive Council, was likewise defeated. The council remains intact. President Samuel Gompers was re-elected for the forty-first time. The only radical to receive personal recognition was President Schlesinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, elected (with Edward McGivern, of the Plasterers) fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress.

I. W. W. Wins Recognition

"EIGHT-HOUR strike on Great Northern won." Thus runs a big headline across the front page of the **Industrial Worker** of July 8th. The I. W. W. construction workers, out on strike since May 29th, caused the contractors to capitulate on the Grant Smith and Guthrie jobs on the Great Northern Railway in the state of Washington. Five thousand workers reduced their work day from ten to eight hours and received an increase of five cents per hour. The I. W. W.'s were recognized as an organization by the contractors, gaining "job control."

Happenings Abroad

Our tale of labor happenings abroad will be brief. The United Front failed to come into being. The British Machinists suffered a crushing defeat. The Danish workers were also compelled to surrender in their big lockout. The only bright spots were the confidence of the British Labor Party in further victories as a result of recent elections, the formation of a vigorous industrial union in Australia, and the continued growth of the cooperative movement. Labor, on the whole, is at bay; fighting hard for its life. It is realizing, as the key-note at the British Labor Party Conference showed, that it must turn to more fundamental efforts than mere wage demands in order to hold its own and finally be victorious.

"The United Front" Goes to Pieces

THE effort to unite the three big political groups of European labor, which began at the Berlin Conference in April, came to an abrupt end in the latter part of the next month. The representatives at the Berlin Conference, representing the Second (Socialist), Third (Communist), Second and a Half (compromise) Internationals, agreed to the creation of a Committee of Nine "to lay the foundation for a future meeting of an International Congress and for a united working class front." On May 23d the Committee of Nine met. On May 25th they adjourned in complete disagreement.

The three Internationals issued statements of their respective positions. The Second and Third blamed each other, and the Second and a Half blamed them both. The Second International accuses the Communists of lack of "good will and good faith toward the United Front." In proof it says:

> "The work of splitting the trade unions is being continued under the express direction of Moscow, especially in France and Norway. Even in Horthy's Hungary the Communists are making impossible the indispensable unity of the working class movement."

It also calls attention to the official decision of the German Communist party that the United Front is solely "a preparatory stage in the struggle for the dictatorship of the working class, for the Soviet power, and the Communist goal," and adds:

> "The Second International cannot participate in any undertaking which would deceive the proletariat with a mere appearance of unity, while in reality this unity is only deception and a tactical maneuver in order to continue more successfully the process of rupture and cell formation. As long as no change occurs in the behavior of the Communists, any general conference would be directly harmful."

The Third International on the other hand finds the "sole reason" for the failure "to be in the attitude of the Second International, which desired to prevent at all costs the work of the capitalist diplomats in Genoa being disturbed by the intrusion of the proletariat." The following behavior of the Second International during the Genoa Conference was cited to prove the case:

> "After the conference of the representatives of the three executives had laid it down as the duty of all Socialist parties to support Soviet Russia, the chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, who was himself a member of the delegation of the Second International at the Berlin Conference, opened the campaign with a speech at the session of the Berlin representatives of his party. He accused the Communist International of carrying out the policy of the Soviet Government, which was itself an imperialist policy. Throughout the whole period of the bitter struggles at Genoa, the German Social Democratic Press has represented the policy of the Soviet government as a capitalist policy. The Social Democratic Labor Party of Belgium proclaimed its neutrality in the struggle of the Belgian Government for the unconditional reintroduction of private property in Russia. The Swedish Social Democratic Party, a member of the Second International, and a part of the Government in Sweden, has not given a word of support to the struggle of the Soviet delegation for the maintenance of industry in the hands of the Russian proletarian State, although Branting, a member of the Second International Executive, was present at the head of the Swedish delegation in Genoa."

The Vienna (Second and a Half) International declares that the chief obstacles to unity have come from the Right Wing Socialists in Germany and from the Communists in France. "We recognize," it says, "that, on the basis of the declarations of the Second and Third Internationals, it is impossible at the present time to continue negotiations." But it adds that it will find the way "to help forward the idea of an International Labor Congress and of common international action."

British Labor Party's Answer to Capitalist Attacks.

"IT is the new social order we want. Nothing else will prevent the degeneration of labor now." This was the declaration of F. W. Jowett, chairman of the British Labor Party, in opening the twenty-second annual conference of that party at Edinburgh on June 28th. It was his answer, in the name of his organization, to Capitalism's attempt "to destroy the defenses of organized labor" and to continue "the relentless depression of the standard of life of the workers."

The party's chief proposal was a re-statement of its demands for "nationalization of all essential means of wealth production," and for immediate nationalization of the land, mines and other essentially public services. It declared for "no more war," and asked for the extension and democratization of the League of Nations by the inclusion of "all free people." It also declared against an alliance with the Liberal Party on the one hand, and refused affiliation to the Communist Party on the other hand. The vote on the latter proposal was 261,000 for affiliation and 3,086,000 against. This action and the alleged tendency of the party to confine itself to "safe resolutions for election purposes," aroused the ire of the **Labour Monthly**, which asks: "Is the Labor Party simply a group of politicians in the House approach-

ing ministerial power, or is it the leading body of the organized workers of this country, the leader and the organizer of the struggle of the working class?"

Despite the Reaction and the criticisms, the party retains a powerful following among the organized workers of Great Britain. Eight hundred delegates attended the conference representing all sorts of union groups and labor sympathizers. A long series of victories at bye-elections leading up to the conference gave the conferees a feeling of confidence that victory will be theirs at the next general election.

The "Engineers" Rival "Black Friday"

NOT since the triple alliance of railway, mine and transport workers went to pieces on "Black Friday" a year ago, has British labor been dealt such a blow as that suffered in the collapse of the "Engineers" (Machinists) early in June. The dispute arose over the question of shop control. The employers had agreed that no more than 30 hours overtime be required in any four-week period. Both parties regarded this overtime as dependent on the consent of both the employers and the unions; but in November last year the employers announced that they would be the sole judges thereafter of when overtime should be worked. The announcement was in line with the drive everywhere against the workers. Forty-seven unions and over 100,000 men were involved in the lockout. Late in May the union leaders capitulated, entering into an agreement which spelled "surrender." This agreement was overwhelmingly endorsed by the unions' membership. The chief reason assigned for the defeat is the difficulty of carrying on a successful campaign with so many different unions involved in the same field—one of the reasons emphasized in the loss of our own steel strike.

The "One Big Union" in Australia

AUSTRALIAN workers have turned toward the "One Big Union" as their weapon against Reaction. Three of the largest unions in Australia—the Australian Workers' Union, the Coal and Shale Miners and the Transport Workers—launched the Australasian Workers' Union late in May. The membership of the amalgamated organization is 200,000, almost one-third of all the organized workers in the country.

Under the scheme of industrial organization adopted by the Executive Board of the new union, five departments are created, under which local unions shall be grouped: Agricultural, Land and Fisheries; Building and Construction; Transportation; Manufacture; and Mining. Each department will consist of as many "divisions" as may be necessary to meet industrial requirements. Thus, under the Department of Building and Construction, separate divisions for "building" workers and "construction" workers are already created. "Subdivisions"—consisting of those engaged in kindred occupations—and "sections"—composed of persons following the same occupation—complete the scheme of organization.

According to a "manifesto" from the Provisional General Council of the Union, legal attacks upon it by "certain reactionaries, backed by the Tory press," obstructed it in the beginning; but it is now starting its work among the other unions. The movement is coincident with growing dissatisfaction in the labor ranks with the Australian Labor Party. The Union stops short of admitting all workers—drawing the "color" line on Chinese, Japanese, Afghans, colored aliens, though admitting Maoris and American Negroes of mixed issue born in Australasia.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

REFERENCES ON CURRENT LABOR MATTERS

5. Labor and the Press

Norman Angell, "Press and the Organization of Society." (London, Labour Publishing Co., 1922)

Bureau of Industrial Research, "Challenge to the Press." (New York, 1922.)

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Interchurch World Movement, Commission of Inquiry. "Public Opinion and the Steel Strike of 1919." (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1921.) On Pittsburgh press during steel strike.

Interchurch World Movement. Report on the Steel Strike of 1919; with the technical assistance of the Bureau of Industrial Research. (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920. 277 p.) Includes a section on Pittsburgh press.

W. E. Leonard, "Teachings of the Labor Press of the United States. (Walla Walla, Wash., 1921. Whitman College Study of 200 of the 300 Labor Papers. Summary given in Seaman's Journal, S. F., v. 35, No. 17. p. l. December 28, 1921.)

Walter Lippman, "Liberty and the News." (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920.)

Walter Lippman, "Public Opinion." (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920.)

Upton Sinclair, "The Brass Check; a Study of American Journalism." (Pasadena, Upton Sinclair, 1920. 443 p.)

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "Capitalist Press." (In "Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain." 1920. p. 80-2.)

"THE WORKERS' BOOKSHELF" APPEARS

A LONG-FELT need is on the way to be satisfied. A series of little books, well printed in large type, yet cheap, authoritatively written yet simple in language, addressed to workers on their problems in a modern industrial society, is at hand. It is called, **THE WORKERS' BOOKSHELF.**

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MOST texts on Psychology are dry as dust, and few indeed make any attempt to show how their science can be of any utility to the workers in the struggle against capitalism. On the other hand, when one picks up a volume on some Science which is written expressly to show its possible utility to a vital movement, one unconciously is on one's guard to see that propaganda zeal hasn't carried the writer beyond what impartial adherence to truth justifies. It was, therefore with pleasure and admiration such as we have seldom experienced that we read **AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHOLOGY** (Published by the Plebs League, 11a Penywern Road, London, S. W. 5) and saw that not only had the authors avoided these pitfalls, but they had made their compact little handbook reflect the most up-to-date and well-considered point of view of modern psychology. There are few books indeed which we so hardily recommend to the attention of readers of LABOR AGE. It is interesting to note that it is a cooperative or "communal" editorial venture, the joint work of the Plebs Textbook Committee.

ANGELL ON "THE LABOR PRESS"

THE Press and the Organization of Society (Labour Publishing Society, 6 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1, England) is a plea by Norman Angell for the labor union members to pledge themselves to buy a labor-owned paper in preference to the capitalistic papers. This would make success possible for cooperative labor ventures in publication, which is the obvious means of fighting our present public-poisoning press. Angell criticises this as it exists briefly but pointedly, showing the causes of both its sensationalism and its prevarication. He also discusses practical points which must be considered by any labor group who wish their publication to have an equal chance with the efficient organs now printed, as for instance that they must be willing to hire a really competent editor and to give him a very unobstructed hand in directing their paper's policy.

* * *

IN Triumphant Plutocracy, by R. F. Pettigrew (Academy Press, 1921) we have an authoritative account by a former United States senator from South Dakota of his struggle against the power of the predatory business interests. This little book is very enlightening to those who think that protests against these interests proceed from the imaginations of a disgruntled minority of malcontents and "ne'er do wells." It shows how our institutions and political machinery were formed at the behest of the plutocratic elements in our country from the time of the revolution downward, and how today more than ever our policies are framed with an almost sole regard to private profit. The big bankers are the controlling group in public affairs, and their influence is especially censured.

* * *

EVERY parent would be benefitted by reading a thoughtful book on the upbringing of children by Dr. Benzion Liber, entitled **The Child and the Home** (published by Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New York). The work is badly printed, and the material of some of the chapters is sometimes difficult to organize. The thoughts are, however, profound, and expressed well and even at times beautifully and epigrammatically. Although the attitude of the writer toward the handling of disciplinary problems is an extreme one, his treatment is never doctrinaire, but always sympathetic and mature.

ONE OF MANY LETTERS

We wish to say that LABOR AGE is all right and reaches the spot. We will subscribe to it for one year, starting with the August issue.

Yours fraternally,
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OF SAN PEDRO, CAL.
FRANK NOONAN, Secretary.

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DICTATORSHIP vs. DEMOCRACY
By Leon Trotzky. Cloth $1, paper 50 cents.

BARS and SHADOWS
Ralph Chaplin's Prison Poems. $1.00.

NEW POLICIES of SOVIET RUSSIA
By Lenin, Rutgers, Bukharin. $1.00.

A B C of COMMUNISM
By N. Bukharin. 50 cents.

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LENIN'S MESSAGE TO YOU

Moscow, June 7, 1922.

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(Signed) RYKOFF,
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This is just as true of Russia as it is of the man in the street. Russians are starving; we have given money to buy them food; we will keep on giving it. But that money is eaten up. Here is a chance to help Russian industry get started so that Russia will be self-sustaining. Money invested in this company will not be eaten up; it will keep going the wheels of textile mills and clothing factories, it will give additional jobs to Russian workmen so that they can produce clothing which can be exchanged for food grown either by Russian peasants or outside of Russia.

There is no limit to this plan if the first experiment is successful. All profits over ten per cent will be used to open up more textile and clothing factories, or to open plants in other industries. It is a practical way to start the economic regeneration of Russia without interfering with the plans and ideas of the only workers' government in the world.

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